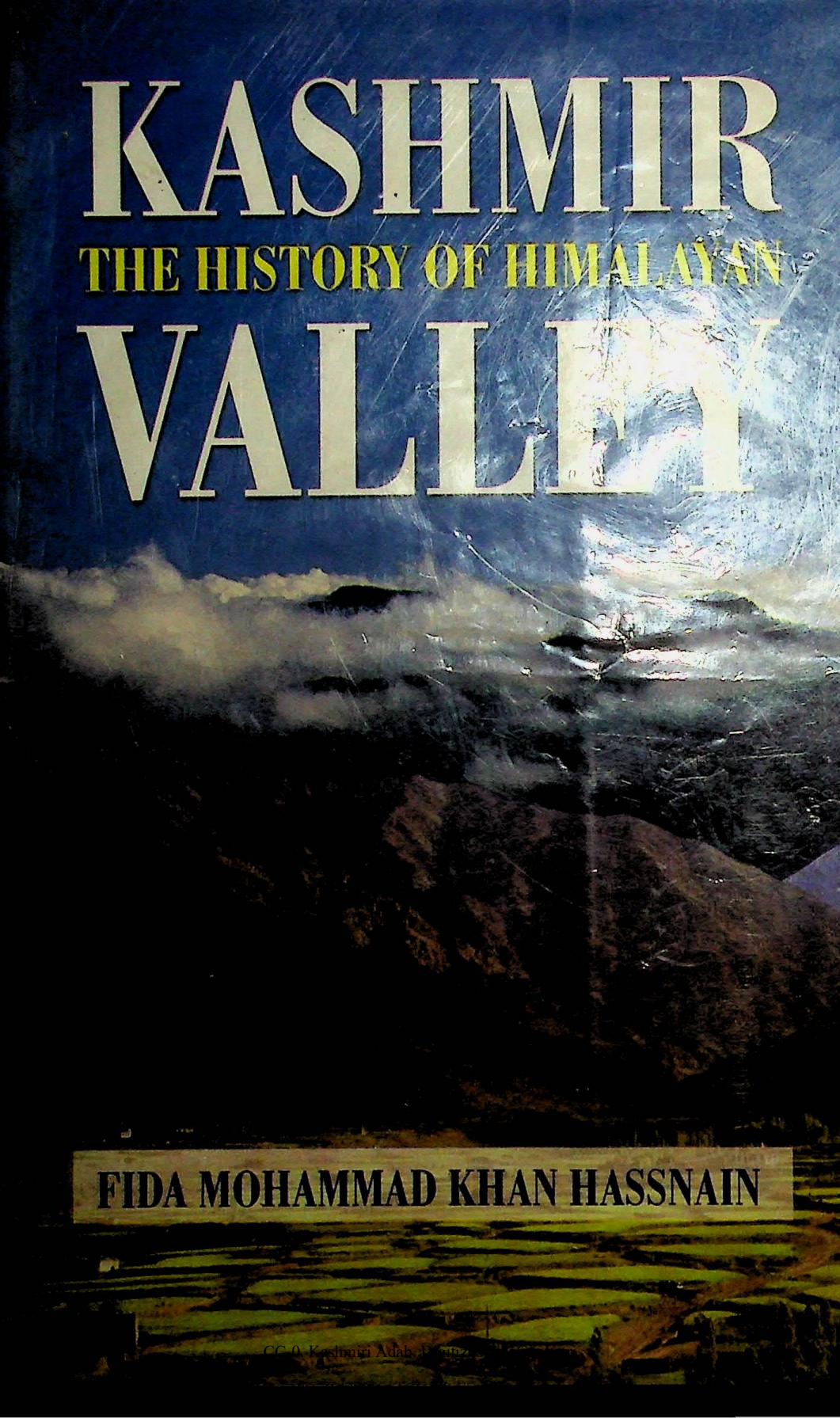




KASHMIR

THE HISTORY OF HIMALAYAN

VALLEY

FIDA MOHAMMAD KHAN HASSNAIN

KASHMIR THE HISTORY OF HIMALAYAN VALLEY

my friend
Manzur Dolkoo

15.5.03



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FIDA MOHAMMAD KHAN HASSNAIN

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PREFACE

The Term Himalayan Valley refers to the valley of Kashmir which came in to existence out of a vast lake surrounded by the Himalayan mountains. The *Nilmata-purana* informs us about this incident and tells us about the fourteen tribes which settled in the Valley after its drainage out of water. These tribes came to be known as the Nagas, Pishachas, Gandharavas, Sakas, Tunganas and Yavanas. The earliest reference to Kashmir are contained in the Greek and the Chinese works. The Arabs also speak of Kashmir and its people. Excavations conducted at Burzahom have revealed that the earliest inhabitation of the valley were cave dwellers. The Valley came under the Greek rule in about 14th century BC. It was during this period that the cultural traditions of Rome, Byzantium, Syria and Persia travel to the Valley. The Kushanas established their rule in Kashmir in about 177 BC. We have recorded evidence about the three Kushana rulers out of which Kanishka held his fourth Buddhist Council in Kashmir in the first century AD. The Buddhist period came to an end in the fifth century and the Hindu kings came to power in Kashmir. The archaeological remains at Avantipur, Mattan, Taper and Parihasapor are the most remarkable monuments of that period.

Islam made its headway into Kashmir in 12th century when the Buddhist King of Kashmir, Gyalpo Rinchina adopted Islam as his religion along with his followers and members of the buddhist community. The period of the Sultans upto the 16th century is a golden period because during this time the Kashmiris had their own great like Shihab-Ud-Din and Zaina-Al-Abidin after that Kashmir was enslaved by the Mughals, the afgans and the Sikhs. In 1846 the Valley was sold by the then British government in India to Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu. The Dogra rule came to an end in 1947.

The history of all these periods has been depicted in this book and the material has been collected from academic sources which are the Sapru House, Delhi University Library, Central Secretariat Library, Punjab University Library, Allahabad University Library and the Library of the research and publication department of Kashmir. We are grateful to all those authors whose works have been included in this volume. Our thanks are due to the Institutions who allowed us the facility of using their libraries.

Srinagar, Kashmir
April 2001

F. H. Hassnain

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY OF THE VALLEY

By
Dermont Norris

In prehistoric times the whole valley of *Kashmir* is supposed to have been covered by one enormous sheet of water, of which the *Wular* lake today is the last remaining trace. And even this is gradually drying up as the out rush of its waters at *Baramullah* wears away the gorge through which the *Jehlum* escapes from the valley towards the distant sea. At some remote date the waters of the lake, aided by supernatural forces, are supposed to have burst through the hills near *Baramullah* and to have forced a passage to the plains of the *Punjab* along what is now the valley of the *Jehlum*. After this catarysm the lake dried out to a large extent and the valley began to assume its present form. The fresh water fossils, which have been found in many places high up on the hill-sides; the beach marks that can be clearly distinguished by the expert eye on some of the mountains that border the valley; and the curious fan-like plateaux, locally known as *Karewas*, which are supposed to mark the various levels of the water, all help to confirm this theory. However, these conjectures are really only of academic interest

and need not detain the visitor in search of what the country has to offer today.

From this very remote period until the early years of the fourteenth century, *Kashmir* was governed by *Hindu* rulers, except for several comparatively short interludes, the most important of which was when the country fell into the hands of *Asoka*, who is supposed to have founded the city of *Srinagar*. *Asoka* also introduced Buddhism, which was at that time the most virile and wide-spread religion throughout Northern *India*. Later its force gradually waned and it completely died out in *Kashmir* many centuries ago. To-day it has its stronghold in the barren uplands of *Ladakh* and *Tibet*, where it still flourishes.

So far as we can tell from scanty records, these *Hindu* rulers appear, on the whole, to have been fairly just and merciful, according to the standards of the time, and during at any rate considerable portions of this long period, the country must have enjoyed a fair measure of peace and prosperity. The remains of solid stone temples, built of massive blocks of blue lime stone and assigned by archeologists to dates within the period, which are still to be seen in many parts of the valley and which contrast strongly with the ramshackle, if picturesque, wooden buildings of the present day, could only have been built by a people who had attained to a considerable degree of prosperity, and who had enjoyed long interludes of peace and leisure in which to evolve so highly developed a culture. The country, too, must have been thickly populated, as no mere handful of people could have required, or indeed have built, the number of temples of which the ruins may still be seen, and whose survival through so many eventful centuries postulates a far larger

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number to have originally existed. But whether this peace, prosperity and culture spread downwards to the peasantry and humbler townsfolk is more than doubtful, and it appears only too probable that even then they were subject to the injustice and oppression, which was to be their lot under subsequent dynasties.

After *Asoka* the name of *Lalitaditya*, who flourished about 700 A.D., has been handed down as the most famous king during this long period. Much that is told of him is legendary and he may fairly be compared with our *King Arthur*, but it is considered fairly certain that it was in his time that the temple at *Martand* was built and that he extended the *Kashmir* sphere of influence far into Central *Asia*.

A hundred years later *Avantivarma*, the founder of the city of *Avantipur*, whose site today is marked by massive ruins and a squalid village, let the country along the path of prosperity. After his death the history of *Kashmir* sinks into a long tale of court intrigue with one weak king succeeding another, until the centuries of *Hindu* rule came to an end in 1323 when *Renchan Shah*, a *Tibetan* by birth and an adventurer at the court, raised a successful rebellion and usurped the throne. The *Brahmans* in an ill-advised moment refused to admit him to the *Hindu* faith, and sharply afterwards he embarrassed *Islam* with consequences that were disastrous to the *Hindu* section of the population. For the next ninety four years the temples and idols of *Siva* were ruthlessly destroyed, the *Brahmans* were forcibly converted to *Mohammedanism*, and those of the people who obstinately continued to profess the *Hindu* faith were so savagely persecuted that the religion was almost completely stamped out.

However, when *Zain-ul-Abadin*, who was to reign for more than half a century became king in 1420 for a time more moderate councils prevailed. He made for himself so great a reputation as a tolerant and enlightened monarch that his name has been handed down to succeeding generations endowed with legendary powers, and even today it is a household word in the country. He is supposed to have introduced the manufacture of the once famous *Kashmir shawls* by importing wool from *Tibet* and workmen from *Turkestan* and the manufacture of papier machie articles, which still remains as important industry, is believed to have been started in his time.

After his death the advantages that the country had enjoyed under his enlightened rule rapidly disappeared, and the *Chaks*, a family of turbulent and unscrupulous chiefs, who had become the most powerful influence in the country, reduced it once more to disorder and despair. So that when tales of the rich vale that lay behind the mountains bordering the sun-scorched plains of the *Punjab* came to the ears of the *Moghul* court, and *Akbar* dispatched a strong expedition to subdue the country, little effective opposition was made and *Kashmir* fell completely into his hands by 1586.

The *Moghul* emperors were not slow to appreciate the beauties and temperate climate of their most lately acquired province, and it soon became, as it were, a watering place for the *Delhi* Court and its fame spread far and wide. The great emperor *Akbar* himself visited the valley on more than one occasion, and the wall, which still exists round the hill of *Hari Parbat*, was built under his orders. In the reign of *Jehangir* the famous gardens, some of which are still in existence and which even in their present decayed state are one of the sights of the valley,

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were laid out along the shores of *Dal Lake*. But, as the power of the *Moghul* dynasty waned, the governors sent from *Delhi* became so much the more oppressive and corrupt, and the country once again fell into its only too usual condition of disorder and anarchy.

Eventually the influence and protection of the *Moghul* empire became no more than nominal, and when a *Pathan* army, under the leadership of *Ahmed Shah*, appeared in 1752, they met with little difficulty in overrunning the country. It was that the wretched *Kashmiris*, who for ages past had been inured to grinding taxation and pitiless tyranny, drained the cup of misery to its dregs, until, unable to endure the appealing savagery of their *Afghan* rulers any longer, in 1818 they appealed to *Ranjit Singh*, who even then had already become famous as "the *Lion of the Punjab*," to come to their aid. Their appeal was not in vain, and in the following year his forces entered the valley and were so completely successful that before long the *Sikh* flag was flying from *Hari Parbat*.

This change in rulers, though an improvement on the previous state of affairs, can hardly have met with the unqualified approval of the wretched population, nine-tenths of whom, after centuries of persecution by a Mohammedan government, had become converted to the religion of their rulers, only to find themselves now once more in the hands of *Hindus* but little, if at all, more tolerant in matters of religion than the tyrants who had preceded them.

Account of this time written by contemporary *Europeans* and giving a vivid picture of hopelessness and misery of the population, are to be found in the books of *Vigne* and *Boron Hugel*, who describe at length their travels

in this strange land, which, at the time of which they wrote, had not been visited by more than two or three *Europeans*.

At the death of *Ranjit Singh*, the *Sikh* army, which was quartered in *Srinagar*, mutinied and murdered the Governor. This mutiny was quelled in 1841 by *Gulab Singh*, who was then one of the most prominent generals in the *Sikh* army. Land who, after successfully dealing with this rebellion, became the virtual ruler of *Kashmir*, though he still acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the *Court of Lahore*, until after the battle of *Sobraon* in 1846, which marked the final overthrow of the *Sikh* forces by the *British*.

Gulab Singh was a *Dogra Rajput* and his native country was the small and once independent *State* of *Jammu*, situated among the foot-hills bordering on the *Punjab*, and which had been in the hands of the *Sikhs* for a number of years. The *Sikhs* found small outlying States, such as *Jammu*, difficult to control, and in order to increase the security of their hold over them, they adopted the wise policy of keeping the most influential of the inhabitants in their employ. *Gulab Singh* who had quarreled with the then *Rajah of Jammu* and who had served for sometime in the *Sikh* army, where he had quickly attained distinction, was obviously a person to be placated if possible.

He was first made Governor and a short time after *Rajah of Jammu*, where he found ample scope for his enormous energy in reducing the affairs of that state to order, and in leading expeditions against the ruling chieftains of *Baltistan* and *Ladakh*, both of whom he subdued. He also engaged himself in conducting torturous, and to modern eyes highly doubtful intrigues, which resulted in his gaining possession of the province of

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Kishtwar without striking a blow. Thus, at the outbreak of the war with the *British*, he has ruler in all but name of the provinces bordering on *Kashmir* and his sphere of influence almost completely surrounded the prize that he had in view as the ultimate object of his ambition, namely the rich and fertile valley itself.

At the close of the war, during which he had managed to remain neutral and had acted as a mediator between the opposing forces, the whole of these provinces were ceded to the *British* as one of the terms of peace. As a reward for the valuable work done by him in the course of the negotiations between the *British* and *Sikh* governments prior to the treaty of *Lahore*, a separate treaty was concluded with him immediately afterwards, by which the *British* Government, acting on the advice of *Sir Henry Lawrence*, made over to him the independent possession of the whole of the mountainous country that lies between the *Indus* and the *Ravi*. This, of course, includes almost the whole of present-day *Kashmir*, *Baltistan*, *Ladakh* and *Kishtwar*. In exchange *Gulab Singh* agreed to pay to the *British* Government seventy-five lakh of rupees and promised to make an annual tribute of one horse, six pairs of *shawl* goats and three pairs of the most perfect *Kashmir shawls*.

In this manner the country came into the hands of its present rulers. At first it will appear amazing that the *British* Government should have agreed to part with this rich and fertile country immediately after it had fallen into their hands, and for so trifling a sum, but it must be remembered that, when *Lord Hardinge* was conducting these negotiations, the *Punjab* had not been finally subdued, and that *India* was still in the hands of the *East*

India Company, who were primarily interested in commerce. At that time *Kashmir* was practically unknown to *Europeans* and was separated from the plains of *India* by several days' journey along rough and narrow mountain paths. As there was then no road, the possibilities of developing the trade of the country to any profitable extent must have appeared very slight, while the difficulty of effectively governing so remote a province in the unsettled conditions that that prevailed throughout *India* at that time would have been almost insuperable.

Gulab Singh did little to improve the deplorable condition of the country. The first years of his reign were fully occupied in consolidating his position, and soon after, his health, worn out by his strenuous life, began to fail him, and for some years before he died in 1857 he was a complete invalid. His last public act on hearing of the outbreak of the mutiny was to offer the resources of the *State* to the *British* Government and hospitality to any *European* women, who might require a safe refuge.

His third son, *Randhir Singh*, who succeeded him, and who turned out to be a much weaker ruler, was fully occupied during the first years of his reign in helping the *British* to quell the mutiny, and was not able to give much attention to the affairs of his country. While he was *King Gilgit*, which had been conquered previously but lost again some years before, was permanently occupied, with somewhat doubtful advantage to the *State*, which had the difficult and costly task of maintaining the long lines of communication with this distant outpost. This was only effected at the expense of much suffering on the part of the population, who were forced to supply labour for the upkeep of the *Gilgit* road and for the transport of supplies;

labours which were attended by so much hardship and loss of life, that men setting out for such work bid farewell to their families with but little hope of ever seeing them again.

Rabhhir Singh was a great admirer of *European* methods and institutions. He made several efforts to introduce reforms in the shape of state dispensaries and primary education after the *European* model, but without any very great measure of success, as he lacked the obstinate determination which was necessary in order to introduce reforms successfully to such a backward and naturally conservative people.

The last years of his reign were greatly affected by the results of the appalling famine of 1877, which decimated the country. He died in 1885 and was succeeded by his eldest son Lieut. General H.H *Maharaja Sir Pratab Singh*, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

Since 1885 *Kashmir* has enjoyed peace and a measure of prosperity and has made steady progress under the careful and enlightened rule of the late *Maharaja*, aided by a number of *British* officers, experts in various branches of administrative work. Among these, perhaps the most famous was *Sir Walter Lawrence*, who conducted the land settlement, which gave the peasants of *Kashmir* a security of tenure and a moderation in taxation that they had never dreamed of in the past.

The present ruler, *Colonel H.H. Maharaja Sir Hari Singh*, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., nephew of the late *Maharaja Sir Pratab Singh*, succeeded his illustrious uncle in September 1925.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL EPOCHS

By
Ernest F. Neove

The *Kashmiris* owe much of their character and disposition to their environment and especially to a long history of tyranny and oppression.

Nothing is known of the early ages when aboriginal tribes dwelt on the shores of the great *Kashmir* lake or in the recesses of the dense forests. The earliest legends are *Hindu*. But when or how that cult was introduced we know not.

In olden days there used to be several books of chronicles of the kings of *Kashmir*. These histories were called *Rajatarangini*, and it is said that there were as many as fifteen. Early in the fourteenth century most of the old *Hindu* books were destroyed by *Zulzu* the *Tartar* invader, and the work of destruction was later on completed by *Sikander* the Iconoclast. In the following century the enlightened *King Zain-ul-ab-ul-Din* instituted a search for ancient manuscripts; and copies of four of the books were found. Of these *Kalhanay's Chronicles* were by far the most important. But the history of thirty-five of the early *Hindu Kings* was still missing. Subsequently an old manuscript was discovered written on birch bard. This was called the *Ratnakar Purana* and was of especial interest, as

it contained a record of those kings whose reigns were omitted from *Kalhanay's* history. *Zain-ul-ab-ul-Din* had a *Persian* translation made. But both this and the original have disappeared. A copy of the translation is, however, said to have been obtained by *Hassan*, who wrote a history of *Kashmir in Persian*. From this and the *Chronicles of Kalhanay* it appears that there was a succession of *Kashmir* kings from 3120 B.C. to 1445 B.C. Of the numerous dynasties the *Pandava* is perhaps the best known. It is said that *Ramadeo*, the second of this line, founded a large city on the *Martand* plateau and built the first temple there. And another, *King Sandiman*, (2629-2564 B.C.) is stated to have built an extensive city on the site now occupied by the *Wular* lake. He is also said to have built the original *Jyeshtheswara* temple upon the hill now known as the *Takte-i-Suleiman*.

Many *Kashmiri Hindus* hold that the present temples of *Martand* on the *Takht* and elsewhere were built by a race of giants or gods, and they triumphantly ask whether any human beings could construct such massive edifices.

The earliest coins which have been found in *Kashmir* are those of *Avanti Varma* of the *Utpala* dynasty (875 A.D.). And it was this king who erected the temple of *Avantipoor*, which is similar in construction to that of *Martand*. But there is an immense gap between this period and the early kings of *Kashmir* legend.

We cannot even tell how long it was before *Budhism* first made its appearance. But we know that 250 years before the Christian era, *Asoka*, the great *Buddhist* king of Northern *India*, also held sway over *Kashmir*. And *Budhism* was then the national religion. The ancient capital of *Kashmir*, the ruins of which can still be seen extending

along the foot of the *Zabruwan* Mountain from *Pandrethan* to *Aitgaji* gap, is said to have been founded by him. And throughout the valley many stupas and temples were erected in his reign. His son *Jaloka* is, however, said to have reverted to the worship of *Siva*, on account of his attachment to the *Naga* maidens.

A subsequent revival of Buddhism took place, and that religion reached its zenith in *Kashmir* in the time of King *Kanishka*, the *Indo-Scythian* monarch of northern extraction, who reigned about 40 A.D. the time when in the west our own isles were being invaded by the *Romans*.

The famous third great council of Buddhism was held at this period. And the proceedings of the synod, engraved on copper plates, were according to the *Chinese* pilgrim *Hwen Thseng*, deposited in a stupa at a place which has been identified as *Ushkpur*, near *Baramulla*. In 1882 *Mr. Garrick*, of the Archeological Survey, carried out very extensive excavations in hope of finding them, but failed. The success of recent explorations in the north of *India* encourages us to hope that they may yet be discovered.

Buddhism gradually declined and by 638 A.D. it is recorded that the monasteries were few and partly deserted and the people addicted to *Devas*. The Buddhists were then leaving *Kashmir* and gradually making their way eastward into *Tibet* and across the *Chinese Empire*.

For a lengthy period *Kashmir* was now again ruled by a succession of *Hindu* kings, some of whom were tributary to China. Of the disposition of one *Mihirakula* (515 A.D.) we obtain a glimpse. South of *Aliabad Seria*, where the *Pir Panjal* route to the *Punjab* emerges from *Kashmir*, there is ridge called the *Hasti Vanj*. A legend relates how the king, who was marching his army across, was so amused by the cries, struggles and agonies of an

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elephant which had fallen down the ravine that he ordered a hundred more to be forced over the precipice.

Laladitya who reigned from 697-738 A.D., is the best known of the *Hindu* kings. He built temples of which the most famous is *Martand*. He constructed canals, drained swamps and was a successful general. About a century later, 855-883 A.D., another famous king, *Avanti Varma*, also carried on drainage works and erected the *Avantipoor* temples. And his son *Shankara Varmliany* built the temples of *Pattan*.

From this time dissensions and civil war began to arise and there were protracted periods of internecine strife. *Kashmir* clans, the descendants of which still exist in the valley, *Damaras*, *Palas*, *Khashas*, *Tantris* and *Thakkurs*, formed predatory bands and carried fire and the sword throughout the country. Demoralization followed. And in 1305 A.D., in the reign of *King Simha Deva*, *Kashmir* is said to have been a country of drunkards, gamblers and profligate women.

Then came the *Tartar* invasion. *Srinagar* was burnt and the population massacred or carried off as slaves. But *Zulzu*, the invader, was forced by famine to retreat, and with his whole force and thousands of unhappy captives he perished in the snow on one of the southern passes.

With a short interruption of fifteen years *Kashmir* in 1323 A.D. came for nearly four and a half centuries under Mohammedan rule. First a *Tibetan* adventurer, *Rainchan Shah*, who for political reasons embraced *Islam*, and then the *Kashmiri Mohammedan* dynasty, came into power. Of the *Kashmiri Muslim* Kings, *Sikander* the Iconoclast (1394 A.D.) is best known, as his reign was one of terror and marked by the demolition of the magnificent old *Hindu* temples and the slaughter of thousands of *Hindus*. Many

others fled and most, especially those of the lower castes, embraced *Mohammedanism*.

The most famous of the *Kashmiri Sultans* was *Zain-ul-ab-u-din*, who reigned for fifty-two years from 1417 A.D. He ruled well and carried out many works of public utility, and his reign was perhaps the happiest period in *Kashmir* history. His son was a drunkard and chaos supervened.

After sustaining one serious defeat the troops of the *Emperor Akbar* reached *Srinagar* in 1586 A.D. A battle took place at the foot of the *Takht-i-Suleiman*. This was not decisive. But after more fighting the *Moghuls* were eventually victorious. *Akbar* built the great bastioned wall round the *Hari Parbat Hill*.

Jehangir, who succeeded *Akbar*, has left his mark in *Kashmir* in numerous gardens with chenar trees and fountains.

During the *Moghul* rule, *Kashmir* was, on the whole, prosperous and fertile and the *shawl* industry first assumed importance.

As the *Moughal* empire began to wane the local governors of *Kashmir* became increasingly tyrannical and oppressive, especially to the *Hindus*. But the *Afghan* rule from 1752-54 is regarded as the worst period of *Kashmir* history.

We read of *Hindus* being tied up two and two in grass sacks and thrown into *Dal lake*. They were not allowed to wear shoes or turbans. A poll-tax was instituted. And once again the alternatives were set before them, of conversion, death or fight. The abduction of *Hindu* women, too, by the dissolute *Mussalman* rulers was common.

At least a measure of relief came. In 1819, in response to an appeal from *Kashmir*, *Ranjit Singh* the Sikh, "*Lion of the Punjab*", sent in a force which defeated the

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governor of *Kashmir* near *Shupeyon*. This change of rule, although an improvement, benefited the *Hindus* more than the *Mussalmans*. *Moorcroft*, speaking of those days, refers to the deserted condition of villages, and to the exorbitant taxes, amounting sometimes to nine-tenths of the whole harvest. And he says: "The *Sikhs* seem to look upon the *Kashmirians* as little better than cattle. Then murder of a native by a *Sikh* is punished by fine to the *Government* of from sixteen to twenty rupees, of which four rupees are paid to the family of the deceased, if a *Hindu*, and two rupees if he was a *Mohammedan*." Unpaid forced labour was the rule, and for this purpose people were seized and driven along the roads, tied together with rope, like slave gangs. *Moti Ram*, the first *Sikh* Governor, however, introduced a more human regime. But his successors were incompetent. The combined effect of their feeble administration, a severe earthquake in 1827 and famine in 1831 was to reduce *Kashmir* once more to the depths of distress. An able governor, *Mian Singh*, restored prosperity to some extent. But after his assassination by mutinous troops, disorder and anarchy became universal. Meanwhile *Rajah Gulab Singh*, the *Dogra* ruler of *Jammu*, had twice entered *Kashmir*. The first time was in 1819 with the *Sikh* force sent by *Ranjit Singh*. On the second occasion, in 1842, he came into restore order after the murder of *Mian Singh*.

On 9th March, 1846, in the treaty following the Battle of *Sobraon*, *Kashmir* was ceded to the *British* Government by the *Sikhs* in lieu of a war indemnity. And a week later, on 16th March, the *British* transferred *Kashmir* to *Gulab Singh*, receiving in exchange 75 lakhs of rupees (500,000 pounds, less than one year's revenue at the present time), and the promise of a nominal annual tribute.

one horse, twelve *shawl* goats and three pairs of *Kashmir shawls*. *Gulab Singh* engaged to "join with the whole of his military force the *British* troops when employed within the hills, or in territories adjoining his possessions; and the *British Government* promised to give its aid to *Maharajah Gulab Singh* in protecting his territories from external enemies.

The *British* had at once to fulfilled their part of the treaty, for *Imamuddin*, the *Governor of Kashmir*, refused to give up *Kashmir* and defeated the troops sent by *Maharajah Golab Singh* to turn him out. On the movement, however, of a *British* force into *Jammu* territory, he surrendered. *Maharajah Golab Singh* was a stern and vigorous but capable and just ruler. He came to *Kashmir* and himself took charge of the administration, to the great benefit of the State. He died in 1857.

Maharajah Ranbir Singh, his third son, who succeeded him, was a just tolerant ruler and a good friend to the *British* in the dark days of the *Mutiny*. But during his reign *Kashmir*, although its condition was improving, again suffered much at the hands of rapacious officials, who took advantage of the absence of the *Maharajah in Jammu*.

This brief review of its history shows that for centuries *Kashmir* was subject to constant changes of administration, that good rulers were rare and there was no permanency in the system of government. And although such cruelty as that of the *Afghans* was the exception, still there were long periods when religious persecution was rife, and tyranny, oppression, exaction and virtual slavery at the hands of the rulers, alternated with anarchy, disorder and even civil war.

Then came the *pax Britannica*, *Dogra* rule but under *Christian* influence. *Hindus*, *Buddhists*, *Kashmiri*

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Mohammedans, Moghuls, Afghans and Sikhs had all in turn occupied this unhappy country. But with the accession of *Maharajah Golab Singh* dawned an era of peace, continuity of administration, reform and development of the resources of the country.

In half a century *Kashmir* has, under *Dogra* rule, progressed far upon the road to recovery from its sorrows and woes. Time is still required.

The habits and customs of generations became a second nature and are slow in passing away. It may be long before we have complete religious toleration in *Kashmir*. But education and reform of all kinds are steadily advancing, and freedom cannot be far behind.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF KASHMIR

By
Francis Younghusband

A country of such striking natural beauty must, surely, at some period of its history have produced a refined and noble people? Amid these glorious mountains, breathing their free and bracing air, and brightened by the constant sunshine, there must have sprung a strong virile and yet aesthetic race? The beautiful *Greece*, with its purple hills and varied contour, its dancing seas and clear blue sky, produced the graceful *Greeks*. But *Kashmir* is more beautiful than *Greece*. It has the same blue sky and brilliant sunshine, but its purple hills are on a far grander scale, and if it has no sea, it has lake and river, greater variety of natural scenery, of field and forest, of rugged mountain and open valley. And to me who have seen both countries, *Kashmir* seems much the more likely to impress a race by its natural beauty. Has it ever made any such impression?

The *shawls* for which the country is noted are some indication that its inhabitants have a sense of form and colour, and some delicacy and refinement. But a great people would have produced something more impressive than *shawls*. Are there no remains of buildings, roads, aqueducts, canals, statues, or any other such mark by which a people leaves its impress on a country? And is there any literature or history?

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Certainly there are the remains of buildings all over the *Kashmir* valley, remarkable for their almost *Egyptian* solidity, simplicity, and durability, as well as for what *Cunningham* describes as the graceful elegance of their outlines, the massive boldness of their parts, and the happy propriety of their outlines. The ancient *Kashmirian* architecture, with its noble fluted pillars, its vast colonnades, its lofty pediments, and its elegant trefoiled arches is, he thinks, entitled to be classed as a distant style; and we may take it as implying the existence of just such a people this mountain country might be expected to produce. Three miles beyond *Uri*, on the road into *Kashmir*, are the ruins of a temple of extremely pleasing execution. Near *Buniar*, just beyond *Rampur*, is another right on the road. At *Patan*, 13 miles before reaching *Srinagar*, are two more ruined temples of massive construction. Two and a half miles southward of *Shadipur*, the present junction of the *Sind River* with the *Jhelum*, are the remains of a town, the extent and nature of which show conclusively that it must once have been a large and important centre. On the summit of the hill, rising above the *European* quarter in *Srinagar*, is a dome-shaped temple erroneously known as the *Takht-i-Suliman*. At *Pandrathan*, three miles from *Srinagar*, is a graceful little temple and the remains of a statue of Buddha, and of a column of immense strength and size. At *Pampur* and *Avantipur*, on the road to *Islamabad* at *Payech*, on the southern side of the valley, where there is the best preserved specimen temple, and at many other places in the main valley, and in the *Sind* and *Lidar* valleys, there are remains of temples of much the same style. But it is at *Martand* that there is the finest and as it is not only typical of *Kashmir* architecture at its best, but is built on the most sublime site occupied by any

building in the world, -finer far than the site of the *Parthenon*, or of the *Taj*, or of St. Peters, or of the *Escorial*, - we may take it as the representative, or rather the culmination of the rest, and by it we judge the people of *Kashmir* at their best.

On a perfectly open and even plain, gently sloping away from a background of snowy mountains, looking directly out on the entire length both of the smiling *Kashmir* valley and of the snowy ranges which bound it-so situated, in fact, as to be encircled by, yet not overwhelmed by, snowy mountains-stand the ruins of a temple second only to the *Egyptians* in massiveness and strength and to the *Greek* in elegance and grace. It is built of immense rectilinear blocks of limestone, betokening strength and durability. Its outline and its detail are bold, simple, and impressive. And any over-weighing sense of massiveness is relieved by the elegance of the surrounding colonnade of graceful Greek-like pillars. It is but a ruin now, but yet, with the other ruins so numerous in the valley, and so similar in their main characteristics, it denotes the former presence in *Kashmir* of a people worthy of study. No one without an eye for natural beauty would have chosen that special site for the construction of a temple, and no one with an inclination to the ephemeral and transient would have built it on so massive and enduring a scale. We cannot, for instance, imagine present-day *Kashmiris* building anything so noble, so simple, so true and so enduring. And the people who built the ancient temples of *Kashmir* must have been religious, for the remains are all of temples or of sacred emblems, and not of palaces, commercial offices, or hotels; and they must have held, at least, one large idea or they would not have built on so enduring a scale. They must have been men of strong and

simple tastes, averse to the paltry and the florid. What was their history? Were they a purely indigenous race? Were they foreigners and conquerors settled in the land, or were they a native race, much influenced from outside, and with sufficient pliability to assimilate that influence and turn it to profitable use for their own ends?

Fortunately one of their native historians has left us a record, and *Dr. Stein's* skill and industry in translating and annotating this record makes it possible to obtain a fairly clear idea of ancient *Kashmir*. From this and from the style of the ruins themselves, we gather that the main impulses came from outside rather than from within - from *India* and from *Greece*. And perhaps, if in place of their mountains, which tend to seclusion and cut a people off from the full effects of that important factor in the development of a race, easy intercourse and strenuous rivalry with other peoples, the *Kashmirians* had, like the *Greeks*, been in contact with the sea, with ready access to other peoples and other civilizations, they might have made a greater mark in the world's history. But they had this advantage, that the beauty of their country must always, as now, in itself have been attractions to outsiders, and so from the very commencement of its authentic history we find strong outside influences at work in the country.

Thus among the first authentic facts we can safely lay hold of from among the misty and elusive statements of exuberant Oriental historians, is the fact that *Asoka's* sovereign power extended to *Kashmir*— *Asoka*, the contemporary of Hannibal, and the enthusiastic Buddhist ruler of *India*, whose Kingdom extended from *Bengal* to the *Deccan*, to *Afghanistan* and to the *Punjab*, and the results of whose influence may be seen to this day in *Kashmir*, in the remains of Buddhist temples and statues,

and in the ruins of cities founded by him 250 years before *Christ*, 200 years before the *Romans* landed in *Britain*, and 700 years before what is now known as *England* had yet been trodden by truly English feet.

At this time *Buddhism* was the dominating religion in northern *India*, and perhaps received an additional impulse from the *Greek* kingdom in the I, planted by *Alexander the Great* as the result of his invasion in 327 B.C. *Asoka* had organized it on the basis of a state religion, he had spread the religion with immense enthusiasm, and in *Kashmir* he caused stupas and temples to be erected, and founded the original city of *Srinagar*, then situated on the site of the present village of *Pandhrathan*, three miles above the existing capital. He had broken through the fetters of *Brahminism* and established a friendly intercourse with *Greece* and *Egypt*, and it is to this connection that the introduction of stone architecture and sculpture is due. The *Punjab* contains many examples of *Graeco-Buddhist* art, and *Kashmir* history dawns at the time when *Greek* influence was most prominent in *India*.

The first great impulse which has left its mark on the ages came, then, not from within, but from without not from within *Kashmir*, but from *India*, I, and indeed, now remains of that initial movement. The religion, which was its mainspring, has now not a single votary among the inhabitants of the valley. The city *Asoka* founded has long since disappeared. But the great record remains; and on a site beautiful even for *Kashmir*, where the river sweeps gracefully round to kiss the spur on which the city was built, and from whose sloping terraces the inhabitants could look out over the smiling fields, the purple hills, and snowy mountains summits of their lovely country, there still exist

the remnants of the ancient glory as the last, but everlasting sign that at one time great men ruled the land.

The next great landmark in *Kashmir* history is the reign of the *King Kanishka*, the *Indo-Scythian* ruler of upper *India*. He reigned about 40 A.D. when the *Romans* were conquering *Britain* and *Buddhism* was just beginning to spread to *China*. He was of *Turki* descent, and was part of that wave of scythian immigration which for two or three hundred years came pouring down from *Central Asia*. And he was renowned throughout the *Buddhist* world as the pious *Buddhist King*, who held in *Kashmir* the famous *Third Great Council of the Church* which drew up the *Northern Canon* or "*Greater Vehicle of the Law*." In his time, too, there lived at a site which is still traceable at *Harwan*, nestling under the higher mountains at the entrance of one of the attractive side- valleys of *Kashmir*, and overlooking the placid waters of the *Dal Lake*, a famous *Bodhisattva*, *Nagarjuna*, who from this peaceful retreat exercised a spiritual lordship over the land.

Buddhism was, in fact at the zenith of its power in *Kashmir*. But a reaction against it was soon to follow, and from this time onward the orthodox *Brahministic Hinduism*, from which *Buddhism* was a revolt, reasserted itself, and *Buddhism* steadily waned. When the *Chinese Buddhist* pilgrim *Hsien Tsiang* visited *Kashmir*, about A.D. 631, he said, "*This Kingdom is not much given to the faith, and the temples of the heretics are their sole thought.*"

Passing now over a period of six centuries, the only authentically recorded event in which is the reign, A.D. 515, of *Mihirakula*, the "*White Hun*," a persecutor of the *Buddhist* faith, "a man of violent acts and resembling Death," whose approach the people knew "by noticing the vultures, crows, and other birds which were flying ahead

eager to feed on those who were to be slain," and who succeeded to a Kingdom which extended to *Kabul* and central *India*, we come to the reign of the most famous *King in Kashmir* history, and the first really indigenous ruler of note — *Lalitaditya*. And of his reign we must take especial notice as *Kashmir* was then at its best.

Whether *Lalitaditya* was a pure *Kashmiri* it is impossible to discover. His grandfather, the founder of the dynasty to which he belonged, was a man of humble origin_ whether *Kashmiri* or foreign the historian does not relate_ who was connected by marriage with the preceding ruling family. His mother was the mistress of a merchant settled in *Srinagar*. The dynasty which his grandfather succeeded was foreign, and it is impossible, therefore, to say how much foreign blood *Lalitaditya* had in his veins; but his family had at any rate been settled in *Kashmir* for a couple of generations, and *Kashmir* was not in his time the mere appendage of a greater Kingdom, but was a distinct and isolated Kingdom in itself. From this time for many centuries onwards, till the time of *Akbar*, the tide of conquest and political influence was to turn, and instead of more advanced and masterful races from the direction of *India* spreading their influence over *Kashmir*, it was from *Kashmir*, that conquerors were to go forth to extend their sway over neighboring districts in the *Punjab*.

Lalitaditya's reign extend from about 699 to 736. He was therefore a contemporary of *Charlesmagne*, and preceded our own *King Alfred* by more than a century. *Mohamed* was already dead a hundred years, but his religion had not yet spread to *India*. The *Kashmiri* historians speak of *Lalitaditya's* "conquering the world," and mix up much fable with fact. But what certainly is true is that he asserted his authority over the hilly tracts of the

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northern *Punjab*, that he attacked and reduced the King of *Kanauj* to submission, that he conquered the *Tibetans*, successfully invaded *Badakhshan* in *Central Asia*, and sent embassies to *Peking*.

Though, then, he was not the "*universal monarch*" that the historian described him, and did not "move round the earth like the sun," or "putting his foot on the islands as if they were stepping-stones, move quickly and without difficulty over the ocean," he is yet the most conspicuous figure in *Kashmir* history, and raised his country to a pitch of glory it had never reached before or attained to since. It was he who erected the temple at *Martand*, and the ruins of the city *Parihasapura*, near the present *Shadipur*, are an even fuller testimony to his greatness. These, therefore, we must regard as the most reliable indications we have of the degree of culture and civilization to which *Kashmir* attained in its most palmy days twelve hundred years ago.

Lalitaditya's rule was followed by a succession of short and weak reigns, but his grandson was almost as great a hero of popular legend as himself. He too, "full of ambition, collected an army and set out for the conquest of the world." He reached the *Ganges* and defeated the King of *Kanauj*, but had to return to *Kashmir* to subdue a usurper to his throne. He encouraged scholars and poets and founded cities. After him followed, first, "an indolent and profligate prince; then a child in the hands of uncles, who as soon as he grew up destroyed him and put another child on the throne. He indeed maintained his position on the throne for 37 years, but only on account of the rivalries of the uncles, and as a mere puppet King, and was eventually deposed by the victorious faction to make place for yet another puppet King, who again was killed by a treacherous relative. So, the record goes on till we come to the reign of

Avantivarman, 855-883, and this appears to have brought a period of consolidation for the country, which must have greatly suffered economically as well as politically from the internal troubles during the preceding reigns. There is no indication of the reassertion of *Kashmir* sovereignty abroad, but there is ample proof of the internal recovery of the country, and the town of *Avantipura*, named after the King, has survived to the present day. It lies one march above *Srinagar*, and the ruins of the ancient buildings, though not equal in size to *Lalitaditya's* structures, yet rank, says Stein, among the most imposing monuments of ancient *Kashmir* architecture, and sufficiently attest the resources of the builder.

This reign was, too, remarkable for the execution of an engineering scheme to prevent floods and drain the valley, a precisely similar idea to that on which *Major de Lotbiniere* worked out under the direction of the present *Maharaja*. The *Kashmiri* engineer *Suyya*, after whom is named the present town of *Sopur*, saw more than a thousand years ago what modern engineers have also been observed, that floods in the valley are due to the waters of the *Jhelum* not being able to get with sufficient rapidity through the gorge three miles below *Baramulla*. The constricted passage gets blocked with boulders, and both *Suyya* and our present engineers saw that this obstruction must be removed. But while *Major de Lotbiniere* imported electrically- worked dredgers from *America* and a dredging engineer from *Canada*, *Suyya* adopted a much simpler method: he threw money into river where the obstruction lay. His contemporaries, as perhaps we also would have, looked upon him as a madman. But there was method in his madness, for the report had no sooner got about that there was money at the bottom of the river than men dashed into

find it, and rooted up all the obstructing boulders in their search. So at least says the legend. In any case *Suyya* removed the obstruction, and the result was the regulation of the course of the river, a large increase of land available for cultivation, and increased protection against disastrous floods. May the modern *Suyya* be equally successful!

The successor of *Avantivarman*, after defeating a cousin and other rivals to the throne, started on a round of foreign expeditions, in the historian's words, "to revive the tradition of the conquest of the world." The practical result does not appear to have been much more than an invasion of *Hazara*, an attack on *Kangra* and the subjugation of what is now the town of *Gujarat* in the *Punjab*, since remarkable as the spot where we finally overthrew the power of the *Sikhs*. But the record is of interest, as showing that the conquering tendency was still from *Kashmir* outwards, and not from the *Punjab* into *Kashmir*.

But this was the last outward effort, and from this reign onward the record is one long succession of struggles between the rulers and usurping uncles, cousins, brothers, ministers, nobles, and soldiers. The immediate successor was a child whose regent mother was under the influence of her paramour the Minister. After two years the Minister murdered him. Another boy succeeded who only lived ten days. Then the regent mother herself ruled for a couple of years, but a military faction overruled her councils, and by open rebellion obtained the throne for a nominee of their own, and the land became oppressed by exaction of the soldiery backed by unscrupulous ministers. The *Queen* was captured and executed, and a disastrous flood and terrible famine increased the general misery. After two years' reign the soldiers' nominee was deposed and a child put in his place. Then there was a fresh revolution and still another

nominee, who, as he could not pay a sufficient bribe to the soldiery, was deposed and the crown sold to the Minister.

And now another power makes itself felt, the influence of the feudal landholders, whose interests had suffered from the prolonged predominance of the military party. They marched upon *Srinagar*, defeated the soldiers, threw out the usurping minister, and restored the legitimate King, who, however, showed little gratitude, but abandoned himself to vile cruelties and excesses, till the feudal landholders became so exasperated that they treacherously murdered him at night within the arms of one of his low-caste queens. The successor was no better. He surpassed his predecessor in acts of senseless cruelty and wanton license, and was encouraged by his ambitious minister (who was scheming to secure the throne for himself) to destroy his own relatives. Some were murdered, and others captured and allowed to starve to death. He himself died after a reign of only two years, and his successor had to flee after occupying the throne for a few days. The commander-in-chief tried to seize it, but on placing the election in the hands of an assembly of *Brahmins*, they chose one of their own number, who for nine years, by a wise and mild rule, gained a respite from the constant troubles of previous reigns. Only a short respite, however, for on his death the aforementioned scheming minister, after first putting his rivals out of the way, forced an entrance to the palace, killed the successor of the Brahmin, and threw him into the *Jhelum*. He grossly oppressed the land for a year and a half, and then died of dropsy, to be succeeded by a youth grossly sensual and addicted to many vices, who married a princess of the house of *Punch*. This lady happened to have considerable force of character, and when her son succeeded as a child, exercised as his

guardian full royal power. She ruthlessly put down all rival parties, executed captured rebels, and exterminated their families. She even, on her son's death, murdered two of her own grandsons that she might herself retain power. Finally, she fell in love with a letter-carrier who had begun life as a herdsman; she appointed him her Minister, and he retained undisputed predominance over her for her reign of twenty-three years, his valour supplementing for cunning diplomacy in overcoming all position.

The following reign, which was prudent, but weak, is noticeable from the fact that the famous *Mahmud of Ghazni*, who forced Mohamedanism upon *India*, made an attempt, *A.D. 1015*, to invade *Kashmir*. The outward flow had ceased. The inward was now to begin.

In the meanwhile, until the *Moghals*, five hundred years later, finally established themselves in *Kashmir*, the ceaseless round of intrigue, treachery, and strife continued. The powerful herdsman minister and his son were foully murdered, and a succession of low favorites rose to power and plundered the people. A reign of twenty-two days which follows was terminated by the licentious mother killing her own son. Then comes a dangerous rising, of the feudal landholders and more short reigns, murders, suicides, till we arrive at the reign of *Harsa, 1089-1101*, who is said to have been "the most striking figure among the later *Hindu* rulers of *Kashmir*." He was courageous and fond of display, and well versed in various sciences, and a lover of music and the arts, but "cruelty and kind heartedness, liberality and greed, violent self-wildness and reckless supineness, cunning and want of thought in turn displayed themselves in his chequered life." He kept up a splendid Court and was munificent to men of learning and poets. He also succeeded in asserting his authority in the

hilly country outside *Kashmir* on the south. But he eventually became the object of conspiracies, and to put them down restored to the cruelest measures. He had his half-brother, as well as his nephews, and some other relatives, who had given no cause for suspicion, heartlessly murdered. Extravagant, expenditure on the troops and senseless indulgence in costly pleasures gradually involved *Harsa* in financial trouble, from which he endeavored to free himself by ruthless spoliation of sacred shrines, and even by confiscating divine images made of any valuable metal. He was further reduced to the necessity of imposing new and oppressive imposts. All this misgovernment spread discontent and misery among the people; and while the plague was raging, and robbers everywhere infesting the land, there occurred a disastrous flood which brought on a famine. A rising against *Harsa* was the result. He was slain in the fighting; his head was cut off and burned, while his body, naked like that of a pauper, was cremated by a compassionate wood-dealer.

The position of his successor, *Vecula*, was no less precarious than that of the generality of *Kashmir* rulers. His younger brother was ready to rise against him, and the leaders of feudal landholders, to whose rebellion he owed his throne, behaved as the true rulers of the land. He protected himself by fomenting jealousy and mutual suspicion, and murdered or exiled their most influential leaders, and then openly turned upon the remainder and forced them to disarm and submit. He also systematically persecuted the officials. On the other hand he showed considerate regard for the common people, and was on the whole a liberal, capable, and fairly energetic ruler. Nevertheless he, too, met with a violent end. The city-prefect and his brothers attacked him at night in the palace

as, unarmed and attended only by a few followers, he was proceeding to the seraglio. He fought with desperate bravery, but was soon over-powered by his numerous assailants and cruelly murdered, December 1111.

His immediate successor reigned only a few hours; his half-brother only four months. He was then made prisoner by his brother, whose reign of eight years was one succession of internal troubles caused by rebellions and powerful landholders whom he in vain tried to subdue. He imprisoned his Minister and the Minister's three sons, and finally had them all strangled. He executed with revolting cruelty some hostages of the landholders; and, finally, in face of a rebellion caused by his cruelty and by his oppressive imposts, he had to fly from *Srinagar* to Punch. A pretender occupied the throne for a year, during which the people were at the mercy of bands of rebels, while rival ministers contended for what was left of regal power. Trade was at a standstill and money scarce. The rightful ruler returned and again occupied the throne, and owing to the want of union among the feudal landholders, was able to retain it for another five years. But eventually he also met the usual fate of *Kashmir* Kings, and was murdered.

Jayashima, the successor, reigned for twenty-one years, though he had found his country in a pitiable state. The feudal landholders were like kings, while the resources of the King and people alike were well-nigh exhausted by the preceding struggles. His predecessor had been unable by force permanently to reduce the power and pretensions of these petty nobles, and *Jayashima* tried to effect the same object by cunning diplomacy and unscrupulous intrigue. But he was no more successful, and they continued to preserve a rebellious, independent attitude for centuries later, fair into the *Mohamedan* period.

The accounts of this and the immediately preceding reigns are of particular interest, because *Kalhana*, the historian to whom the facts are due, lived at this period. We get then a first-hand account of the *State of Kashmir* eight hundred years ago. It is a petty, melancholy, and sordid history, but it is the record of a contemporary, and I have no hesitation in adopting it as giving a true impression of the state of the country, because I have myself seen a precise counterpart of it in independent states on this very frontier. When I visited *Hunza* in 1889 the then chief__ now in exile__had murdered his father, poisoned his mother, and thrown his two brothers over a precipice. The *Chief of Chitral*, when I was there in 1893, was one of only four survivors of seventeen brothers who were living when their father died, and he himself was subsequently murdered by one of his three surviving brothers__a brother whom he had frequently asked my permission to murder, on the ground that if he did not murder the brother, the brother would murder him. In *Chitral* there was also the same struggle with "nobles" as is recorded of *Kashmir*, and murders of "nobles" were horribly frequent.

We may accept, then, as authentic that the normal *State of Kashmir* for many centuries, except in the intervals when a strong, firm ruler came to the front, was a state of perpetual intrigue and assassination, of struggles with brothers, cousins, uncles, before a chief even came to the throne; of fights for power with ministers, with the military, with the "nobles" when he was on it; of constant fear; of poisoning and assassination; of wearying, petty internecine "wars" and of general discomfort, uncertainty, and unrest.

For two centuries more *Hindu* rule maintained itself, but it was steadily decaying. In the meanwhile Mohamedanism had, especially in consequence of the

invasion of *Mahmud of Ghazni* in 1000 A.D., made great advances in the adjoining kingdoms of the *Punjab*; and, in 1339, a Mohamedan ruler, *Shah Mir*, deposed the widow of the last *Hindu* ruler and founded a Mohamedan dynasty. The influx of foreign adventurers from *Central Asia* as well as from *India* had prepared the ground for Mohamedan rule, and when *Shah Mir* appeared there was little change in the system of administration which remained as before in the hands of the traditional official class, the *Brahmins*.

From this time till the *Moghal Emperors* finally conquered *Kashmir* in 1586, there was, with one exception, the usual succession of weak rulers and constant struggles between rival factions of territorial magnates. But this one exception is worthy of notice, as his reign is even now quoted by *Kashmiris* as the happiest of their history. *Zain-ul-ab-u-din* (1420-70) was virtuous in his private life and liberal. He was staunch friend of the cultivators, and built many bridges and constructed many canals. He was fond of sport, and was tolerant towards *Brahmins*, remitting the poll-tax on them, and encouraging them by grants of land. He also repaired some *Hindu* temples and revived *Hindu* learning. Further, he introduced many art-manufacturers from foreign countries, and his Court was thronged by poets, musicians, and singers.

But this reign seems to have been a mere oasis in the dreary record, and it was followed by a succession of weak reigns till 1532, when a direct conquest of the country by a foreign invader was effected. In that year *Mirza Haider*, with a following which formed part of the last great wave of *Turkis* (or *Moghals*) from the north, invaded *Kashmir* and held it for some years. Then followed one last short period, during which *Kashmir* became once more the scene of long-continued strife among the feudal families,

who set up and deposed their puppet kings in rapid succession, till finally, in 1586, *Kashmir* was incorporated in the dominions of the great *Akbar*, the contemporary of *Elizabeth*, and remained as a dependency of the *Moghal* emperors for nearly two centuries.

Akbar himself visited the country three times, made a land revenue settlement, and built the fort of *Hari Parbat*, which from its situation on an isolated hill, in a flat valley surrounded by mountains, bears some resemblance to the *Potala at Lhasa*. *Akbar's* successor, *Jehangir*, was devoted to *Kashmir* and it was he who built the stately pleasure gardens, the *Shalimar* and *Nishat Baghs*.

The rule of *Moghals* was fairly just and enlightened, and their laws and ordinances were excellent in spirit. *Bernier*, who visited *Kashmir* in the train of *Aurungzebe*, makes no allusion, as travelers of a subsequent date so frequently do, to the misery of the people, but, on the contrary, says of them that they are "celebrated for wit, and considered much more intelligent and ingenious than the *Indians*." "In poetry and the sciences," he continues, "they are not inferior to the *Persians*, and they are also very active and industrious." And he notes the "prodigious quantity of *shawls* which they manufacture." *Kashmir* was indeed, according to *Bernier*, "the terrestrial paradise of the *Indies*." "The whole Kingdom wears the appearance," he says, "of a fertile and highly cultivated garden. Villages and hamlets are frequently seen through the luxuriant foliage. *Meadows* and *vineyards*, fields of rice, wheat, hemp, saffron, and many sorts of vegetables, among which are mingled trenches filled with water, rivulets, canals, and several small lakes, vary the enchanting scene. The whole ground is enameled with our *European* flowers and plants,

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and covered with our apple, pear, plum, apricot, and walnut, trees, all bearing fruit in great abundance."

All this and the absence of remarks on ruined towns and deserted villages, such as we shall hear so much of later on, implies prosperity. And of the governors of *Kashmir* under the *Moghals*, we read that many were enlightened, reduced taxation, and put down the oppression of petty officials. But as the *Moghal Empire* began to decay, the governors became more independent and high-handed. The *Hindus* were more oppressed. The officials fought among themselves, and *Kashmir* fell once more into wild disorder; and eventually, in 1750, came under the cruellest and worst rule of all- the rule of the *Afghans*, who to this day are of all the oppressive rulers in the world the most tyrannical. The period of *Afghans*, rule was, says *Lawrence*, a time of "brutal tyranny, unrelieved by good works, chivalry, or honour." Men with interest were appointed as governors, who wrung as much money as they could not of the wretched people of the valley. It was said of them that they thought no more of cutting off heads than of plucking a flower. One used to tie up the *Hindus*, two and two, in grass sacks and sink them in the *Dal Lake*. The poll-tax on *Hindus* was revived, and many either fled the country, were killed, or to converted *Islam*.

At last the oppression became so unendurable that the *Kashmiris* turned with hope to *Ranjit Singh*, the powerful *Sikh* ruler of the *Punjab*, who, after an unsuccessful attempt, finally in 1819, accompanied by *Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu*, defeated the *Afghan* governor and annexed *Kashmir* to his dominions. It came then once again under *Hindu* rulers, though in the meantime nine tenths of the population had been converted to *Mohamedanism*.

CHAPTER IV

ANCIENT HISTORY OF KASHMIR

By
C. G. Bruce

The only way to enjoy a new country.... new to oneself, that is to say is to get a grasp of its ancient history, just as visitors to our metropolis should know something of the history of old *Britain* and old *London* before they can intelligently go sight-seeing.

Kashmir is such a beautiful country, blest with such a good climate, grand mountains, fine rivers and lakes, so rich for agricultural purposes, and garnished with such lovely wild flowers and fruits, that one exclaims, " Surely the tales of fair *Kashmir* can be only fairly tales of good kings and happy, prosperous people ! "

But this, alas! has not been the past history of the fair valley, though we trust it may be its future. All the old records of *Kashmir* come from the *Sanskrit* history, which was compiled by an ancient poet. Of course much of this work is veiled in legend, as, for instance, the way in which the people profess to account for the origin of their country. The valley of *Kashmir*, so sung the bard, had once been a vast lake. Without any geological knowledge he hit on the truth. But the reason for the drying up of the lake was attributed to supernatural agency.

In all mythological stories the forces of Nature are supposed to be the works of good or evil powers. Sunshine, good harvests, cool springs, fruitful soil, and spells of

health are due, they say, to the smiles of the gods; flood and famine, drought and disease, to their frowns or the works of evil demons or dragons.

The historical legend further states that this vast lake, locked in by mountains from which it was impossible to escape, was the home of the goddess *Parvati*, who lived in the mountain *Haramouk*, and sailed her boat in the lake now called *Wular*. This goddess was good and kind. But there also dwelt in the lake a wicked dragon whose presence was shown by the storms, which constantly overwhelmed boatmen trying to cross. Good and bad strove together, till at last a grandson of the god *Brahma* visited the country. He had to live an ascetic life for a thousand years before he was in a fit state to deliver the country from the demon. A little hard, it would seem, on the generations which must still endure !

However, finally he earned what he had so long striven for, and he tried to challenge the demon, who refused to engage in fair fight and hid in the waters of the lake. Whereupon the gods came to the rescue, and, striking the mountains at *Baramulla* (where, geologically speaking, there was least resistance), made an outlet for the waters (to the truth of which the present gorge and narrow channel are witness) and so drained the valley. The demon serpent still escaped them, however, and hid himself in the water, which remained. The gods searched for him by the help of the sun and moon.

At last the goddess *Parvati*, from her rocky fortress, hurled a small mountain on the spot where she imagined him to be, and killed him. This mountain can still be seen, say the people, for it is the hill on which the fort *Hari Parbat* was built. After such assistance from the gods the country, now a fertile valley, invited men to live in it, lesser

demons still troubling it were also routed, and so arose the kingdom of *Kashmir*.

This is called the prehistoric period, for it is the time before any genuine history can be traced. The first of any reliable records dates back to 2000 B.C. Which fact alone makes the story of *Kashmir* one to command our interest and respect.

Kashmir, in spite of its natural advantages, started in the race of life heavily handicapped by those very things which seemed to be but fairy gifts. As in the old stories, there was a bad as well as a good fairy attending its birth, and this witch wove bad spells into the robe which should have been all radiant and fair, so lavish had been the good fairy gifts. The very fact of being all that it was attracted other less fortunate neighbors to help themselves to its luxuries.

A spoilt child is generally weak one, while one who has been brought up in surroundings in which it gets some hard knocks is of tougher fibre; and so it proved in the case of *Kashmir* and those countries within reach of it.

The *Kashmiris* had but to scratch seed into the soil and it produced abundant harvests, while people from less favoured climates and countries had to toil hard, fighting barren soil, burning sun, devastating rains, drought, and famine. And so the aggressive side of them was over-developed, and they looked about for some way of recovering their losses. There lay *Kashmir*, a spoilt child lolling in the lap of Nature, and they swooped down to capture her possessions. In order to gain them they knocked her down again and again and she was not strong enough to resist. And not only was she invaded from outside, but internal weakness and dissension destroyed her

individuality, and she was the prey first of one more powerful enemy, then of another.

The first authentic history we can collect is long before the *Romans* came to *Britain*. *Asoka* was at that time a great *Indian* ruler living in the same period as *Hannibal*. This king was a *Buddhist*, or follower of *Buddha*, by religion. He was also an enthusiastic missionary, and wherever possible he erected temples to *Buddha*, and he visited *Kashmir* with this purpose. Then, just when the *Romans* were conquering *Britain*, came another *Buddhist* ruler, also a king in upper *India*.

We hear of a cruel king about *A.D. 500*, whose one idea was slaughter, and at last, about *A.D. 700*, we find a good king arising from *Kashmir* itself. His name was *Lalitaditya*. He did much to restore agricultural prosperity by his goodness to the farming classes, by making canals and bridges which enabled them to bring their grain and other produce to the capital and large centers, and by his general beneficence.

He was a man of many tastes: sporting, artistic, and literary. He was an adventurous spirit too, and, having tried to better his country within, set off to better it without, by conquest. *India*, *Asia*, and *Tibet* all felt his victorious hand. But his desire was not only for bloodshed. He still thought of his country, and brought back all that he could gather from the countries he had invaded which might be of service to *Kashmir*. Skilled workmen and men of letters were to help to improve the manual works and the minds of the people. He brought gold from *India*, and ornamented temples with it, and built several fine ones.

After his death the succession of his worthless son brought another sad epoch, which only made the past reign

stand out more vividly as a great one, even with its shortcomings.

King *Lalitaditya* was quite a remarkable man. He was a contemporary of *Charlesmagne the Great*, and under his rule *Kashmir* was raised to its highest point of prosperity. Finding it in a position of serfdom to foreign powers, he left it an independent kingdom. The tables were turned, and *Kashmir* went forth to conquer. Historians of the day boasted that their king crossed the ocean by stepping from one island to another. He never saw the sea; but to ignorant people even their goslings are swans. He built wonderful temple of *Martand*, according to *Dr. Stein*, though some archaeologists think it was built still earlier.

He is said to have given good precepts for his people to follow. The forts were kept well provisioned, for he had acquired knowledge during his fighting expeditions, and knew the importance of feeding his soldiers and keeping spare food in store in case of sudden need.

During the reign of *Lalitaditya* the army of *Kashmir* was kept in fighting trim, and consisted of about six thousand cavalry (though we should probably have called it mounted infantry, and mere ponies even at the best could have been their chargers) and fifty thousand infantry, and it would seem to be none too large for the foreign invasions he successfully carried through. But as time went on the soldiers, denied the excitement of real fighting, became a source of trouble to their country, and civil wars became a habit.

The star of *Kashmir* began to set, and her fortunes declined steadily for two hundred years, when once again a good king of their own improved the lot of the people. *Avantivarma* was not a conqueror, but he was an architect and an engineer, and he was succeeded by a man who was

neither practical nor a great soldier, and yet was bent on conquest. All that he accomplished was an invasion of the neighboring valley of *Kangra* and the north of the *Punjab*.

After his death came a sad time for the country. Two or three little boy kings were murdered, as well as their regent mothers. Famine and flood afflicted the land, and a succession of low and cruel rulers, who, between personal jealousies and public tyrannies, dragged *Kashmir* down to the depths.

This was the *Hindu* period, and dozens of petty kings, each ruling over small holdings, and always quarreling amongst themselves, dragged out generation. A change of religion was forced on the people by a change of rulers. The *Mohammedans* now thought they would rule *Kashmir*.

The new king was called the *Iconoclast* or image-breaker, for he turned his vengeance on the great Buddhist and *Hindu* temples, and did his best to wreck them. He took some of the solid materials over which such keen labour had been spent, to build a mosque of his own faith in the city, and for use there generally. His reign was one of misery for the people. He sunk the books of *Hindu* learning in the *Dal lake*, and offered the people death or conversion to his religion. Some gave in, many fled to *India*, many more were murdered.

One good king came to the throne in 1417. He is said to have built a palace twelve stories high with vast rooms. His chief virtue was religious tolerance, and many *Brahmans* returned to their country. He even tried to repair some of their temples, and helped the *Hindus* by lessening taxation and giving them land. He brought in the *Persian* language in place of the *Sanskrit*, and encouraged music and poetry, also artistic manufactures from other countries.

His long reign of fifty-two years was also crowned with foreign conquest, and again *Tibet* and part of the *Punjab* were included in the kingdom of *Kashmir*.

The succeeding kings were of a crue! stamp, and things were worse than ever, for an enemy from their own borders, a tribe called the *Chaks*, now swept down upon them.

The year 1586 brought the *Moghuls* under *Akbar* their emperor, who routed the Mohammedan king. On his third visit he built the fort *Hari Parbat*, hoping to tempt back people who had fled from the country to work on it, as he gave liberal wages.

He is said to have employed thirty thousand porters or coolies. He had his empire to run in *Delhi* as well, however, and so his visits to *Kashmir* did not leave much permanent result; though even his occasional visits were a good thing, providing expenditure and labour in the preparations at the palace; for *Moghul* emperors moved with a court, and all was no doubt in readiness for their visits.

But, of course, absentee kings cannot leave any mark on a distant country visited only at intervals, and during which visits most of their time is taken up with pleasure.

Still, the *Kashmiris* have reason to be grateful for all the beauty called into being by *Jehangir* during his occupation. Seven hundred and seventy gardens are attributed to the *Moguls*.

There is one *Mogul* emperor to whom the country owes nothing but hatred. This was *Aurangzeb*, another religious fanatic who persecuted unmercifully, and again made the lives of the *Hindus* unbearable. And yet, as a whole, the *Mogul* period brought much relief to *Kashmir*.

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Wealth poured in with the *Delhi* Court, and many good things in the form of revenue settlement and public works were started.

The *Pathan* invaders brought *Kashmir* again to a state of misery. One of the *Amirs* was even petty enough in his spite to try to wreck the beauty of the gardens. Another one tied up poor *Hindus* in sacks and drowned them in the lakes. And again *Kashmir* turned in despair for help to an outside power, and *Ranjit Singh*, ruler of the *Sikhs*, now took possession.

But it was almost a case of out of the frying pan into the fire, for the *Sikhs* oppressed the wretched people, levying taxes on every trade and manufacture, exacting all they could in every possible way. Descriptions left by travelers, about 1840, show the miserable and abject condition to which they had sunk. Better days, however, were about to dawn, and surely it was time they did. For over 2000 years, as far as history relates, the peaceful and prosperous times of *Kashmir*, as we have seen, could be counted on one hand.

But before we pass on to its modern history we must have a look at the old temples of *Kashmir*, for they are, after all, part of the ancient history.



CHAPTER V

A GLIMPSE OF KASHMIR THE PAST OF KASHMIR

By
S. N. Dhar

Kashmir has had a chequered history in spite of the natural barriers of ranges of *Himalayan* mountains that enclose the valley of *Kashmir*. Much earlier than the *Christian* era it was ruled by *Hindus*. Then it was ruled by the Buddhists and then, later, by mountain deprecatory rulers, alternately. *Chaks*, *Moghuls* and *Pathans* held sway over *Kashmir*. *Sikhs* followed in their wake. Then came the *Dogras*, headed by *Maharaja Ghulab Singh*, whose worthy scion, *Maharaja Hari Singh* now ruled the so-called sweet-heart of the world.

The ancient history of *Kashmir* is "wrapped up in mystery." An interesting legend, however, persists. According to it the *Valley of Kashmir* was once a vast lake *Satisar*, "the lake of *Sati*," named after *Parvati*, the divine consort of *God Siva*, who used to sail on it with her permanent abode at its shore near the peak of *Haramouk*. Lake demons infested the *Satisar*. At their head was *Jalodbhava*. They killed and devoured human beings who were saved by the timely visit of *Kashyapa*, who, being a grandson of *Brahma*, was a great sage. To remedy the sufferings of the people of *Satisar*, he offered penance for a period of one thousand years. His prayer was granted. Goddess *Sharika* appeared before him as a *Hari*, a myna,

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with a pebble in her mouth. This she deftly dropped over the demon *Jalodhbhava*. It assumed the dimensions of a hillock the present fort-clad *Hari Parbat* and thus gave the terrible pest of a demon a most decent burial. His follower demons were soon frightened away. Water of the lake was drained off at a depression at *Baramulla*. *Kashmir*, thus peopled by *Kashyapa*, was fitly named after him, "*Kashyapa Mir*," which has by now degenerated into "*Kashmir*."

That *Kashmir* was a vast lake in accordance with the spirit, if not the substance, of this tradition, is confirmed by scientific testimonies.

"Even at a height of over 12,000 feet above sea level, I have found fossiliferous limestone, crowded with small corals, crinoid stems and other marine form; "so writes *Dr. Neve*, who traveled in *Kashmir* extensively and who, from this evidence, supposes that even "lofty peaks may have formed chains of island" in prehistoric times. He adds that *Satisar* came into existence after on immense period of time when this sea receded towards the plain and the evidence, in his words, is: "For at a height of some hundreds of feet above the present level the black shells of the *Singhara* water chestnut are found in the clay together with many varieties of land and fresh-water shells, all apparently of living forms."

The records of native chroniclers about ancient *Kashmir* seem to be authentic from about seventh century B.C. till about 2000 B.C. there was no recognized form of Government. In 2180 *Raja Daya Karan* was the first monarch. In 3007 B.C. *Raja Ramadev* built the temple at *Mattan*. *Raja Pravarsen* founded the city of *Srinagar*, calling it *Pravarpura*.

Asoka, the great Buddhist monarch, conquered *Kashmir* in 250 B.C. Himself a convert to *Buddhism*, he made Buddhism, the national religion. Even *Brahmins* became *Buddhist Missionaries*.

He was succeeded by *Jalaka* in 200 B.C. The stone temple over *Shankaracharya* is attributed to him. For about two centuries before Christian era, *Tartar chiefs* invaded *Kashmir*. After them came the *Indo-Scythian* monarch. *Kanishka*, who convened the historical Third Council of the *Buddhist Church* in *Kashmir*. Buddhism gradually declined in *Kashmir* though it disappeared only as late as first quarter of the seventh century when the raids of the white *Huns* reached their apex in point of devastation and tyranny. *Mihiragula* was the worst of these invaders. His oppression of *Buddhism* left few monasteries in *Kashmir* about the end of seventh century, as is testified by the itinerary of *Hieun Tsiang*, the well-known Chinese traveller. Such of the *Buddhists* as escaped oppression fled to take shelter in *Tibet*, where they still flourish. Ruins of beautifully tiled monasteries, recently excavated at *Harwan*, evince feats of Buddhist engineering art.

Then a line of *Hindu* monarchs ruled over *Kashmir* for eight and ninth centuries among whom *Lalitaditya* (715-752 A.D.) and *Avantivarnam* (855-883 A.D.) stand out as great rulers, who built big stone temples, constructed roads and drainage systems, dug canals throughout the Valley and brought peace and prosperity to the land. The stone temple at *Martand*, whose ruins claim admiration from travellers all over the world, was built by *Lalitaditya*. He was an ambitious monarch. He conquered whole of *Northern India* and subjected *Turkey* and even part of *Central Asia*. *Alberuni*, the *Muslim* historian, says that *Kashmiris*, in his time, celebrated an annual festival in

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honour of his far-flung conquests. *Suyya*, the greatest engineer of mediaeval *Kashmir*, lived during the time of *Avantivarnam*. He drained the *Jhelum* at "*Suyyapore*"- a town named after him, now called "*Sopore*" to save the valley from inundation of the *Jhelum* and lakes. Indeed sculpture and engineering flourished in *Kashmir* during this period as they did at no other time.

From tenth to about fourteenth century, *Hindu* monarchs ruled over *Kashmir*, but they could ill confront the incursions of mountain hordes like *Damaras*, *Tantriyas*, etc. whose continual depredations rendered the functioning of a *Central* authority on impossibility. The great poet-historian of *Kashmir*, *Kalhana*, describes these hordes from sad, personal experience and ironically says, "They are well skilled only in burning, plundering and fighting."

"*Kalhana* wrote *Rajatarangini*, the famous Saga of the Kings of *Kashmir*, between the years 1148-1149 A.D. The story covers thousands of years from earliest times down to his own day... *Kalhana* is pre-eminently a *Kavi*, a seer-poet. He looked upon himself as a poet first and chronicler afterwards. The late *R.S.Pandit* compared him to *Aeschylus* and *Homer* as 'a poet of veracity.' *Kalhana* acquaints us with many ancient superstitions, customs and traditions, some of which have persisted to the present day. The cult of *Saivism*, then prevailed in *Kashmir*, influenced him strongly... *Kalhana* ranks among the first rate *Indian Sanskrit* historians of the *Middle Ages*. He has saved the history and ancient culture of *Kashmir* from oblivion."

Kalhana's interesting and informative chronicle was continued by several chroniclers up to the fifteenth century but their treatment lacks his masterly narration. *Kalhana* presents a complete picture of the people. Their life was simple. They excelled in many branches of

learning, notably literature, poetics, astrology, theology, etc. *Kashmiri Hindus* evolved *Saivism*, the so-called *Trika philosophy*, of absolute monism which strikes a bold parallel with the *Vedanta* philosophy and which is more progressive in tincturing its idealism with realism in a synthetic manner.

The *Tartar* warrior, *Zulfi Kadir Khan*, spread havoc with fire and sword in *Kashmir* in 1322 A.D. and carried 50,000 *Brahmins* with him as slaves but "*General Winter*" defeated him on his retreat as it did *Napoleon* and *Hitler* in *Russia*: he and his empire-predatory forces perished in the snow storm that overtook them. *Mohammad Ghaznavi* invaded *Kashmir*, when *Dida Rani*, one of the great *Hindu* queens of *Kashmir*, ruled over *Kashmir* even after her husband had fled to *Tibet*, as a result of a *Tartar* invasion, died a heroic death. Her minister, *Shah Mirza*, usurped the throne and wanted to marry her but she committed suicide rather than submit her honour to her erstwhile subordinate.

Many *Sultans* succeeded *Shah Mirza*, out of whom the reign of *Sikander the Iconoclast* (1394-1416 A.D.) stands out prominently as one of terror and vandalism. He out-Neroed Nero in his tyranny. As a result of his idol-breaking zeal, many of the finest ancient temples were razed to the ground, out of which the ruins six at *Martand*, *Pandrethan*, *Ganeshbal* and *Bijibehara* remain to tell the said tale.

An honourable exception to vandalistic *Muslim* *Sultans* of *Kashmir* is provided by *Zain-ul-Abdin* (1423-1474), the successor of *Sultan Sikander*, who is remembered to this day as "*Badshah*" Great Monarch by the masses in *Kashmir* in their folk-songs that accompany their many occupations.

He introduced paper-making, sericulture, *shawl*-making and many fruit trees in *Kashmir*. The *Mar Canal*,

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which drains out the famous *Dal Lake*, preserves his memory. He loved his *Hindu* subjects so much as to go to the extent of repairing some of their dilapidated temples. *Kalhana's* work on history of *Kashmir* was brought up to date in his time by *Jona Raja* in *Sanskrit* and by *Mulla Ahmad* in *Persian*. *Hindus* occupied high posts in his service. His tomb near *Zaina Kadal* in *Srinagar* is kept in fine condition by the Archaeological Department of the State.

Zain-ul-Abdin's successors could not resist the invasions of the *Chaks*, a turbulent *Shiah* sect from the country of the *Dards*, as he had done successfully. *Ghazni Khan*, the first *Chak* ruler, exercised his *Shiah* proselytizing zeal to a great degree. Seven kings followed him. There was nothing remarkable in their rule except horrors of persecution and of oppression suffered by the *Kashmiris* who were relieved from them when *Akbar's* invading forces swept through *Rajouri*. and defeated *Chaks*. *Babar* and *Humayun* had tailed in their attempts to annex *Kashmir* to their kingdom but *Akbar's* generals always won him victories.

Moghul rule brought peace to the unhappy valley. The condition of the masses improved considerably. *Akbar* rebuilt the fort of *Hari Parbat* and built a wall round it. *Jehangir* was a great lover of *Kashmir*. He laid excellent terraced gardens at *Verinag*, *Achibal*, *Nasseem*, *Shalimar* and had chinars planted throughout the valley. His wife, *Nur Jehan*, built *Pathar Masjid*, the stone mosque, in *Srinagar*, which now occupies the head quarters of the *National Conference*. The royal, romantic couple spent a delightful time in their pleasure spots in *Kashmir*. In 1627 *Jahangir* died on his way out of *Kashmir*, saying "Only *Kashmir*," in reply to what he wanted. *Shah Jahan* added to *Moghul Gardens* in *Kashmir* and, like his predecessors, he

also stimulated revival and spread of arts and industries of *Kashmir*.

A harsh change came when the *Puritan Moghul* monarch, *Aurangzeb*, succeeded *Shah Jahan* in 1653. *Francois Bernier*, who visited *Kashmir* during his time, left his records about the *shawl*-making and other industries of *Kashmir* which were thriving then. But an era of fanatic persecution of *Hindus* was once again revived. Special taxes were levied upon *Hindus*. *Aurangzeb* visited *Kashmir* only once. *Moghul viceroys* in *Kashmir* turned to be cruel after the death of *Aurangzeb* gave them a free hand.

Profiting by these disorderly conditions, *Afghans* successfully attacked *Kashmir* under *Ahmad Shah Durrani* in 1750 A.D. Thereupon ensued a flagrant tyrannical rule of devastation and rapine that lasted over sixty years. As usual *Hindus* were the victims of a ruthless religious persecution but other *Kashmiris* were not spared the horrors of brutal oppression. Refusal to conversion culminated in hideous death to the *Hindus* who were brutally mal-treated, tortured and pressed into mat sacks and thrown alive in the *Dal Lake* at a point named after these atrocities as "*Bat-Mazar*" — the graveyard of *Hindus*. Most *Hindus* heroically preferred death to giving up their faith.

George Foster visited *Kashmir* in 1783. His account of the rule of *Afghan* governors in *Kashmir* in his letters from *Kashmir* is illuminating. He says that as against the revenue of three and a half lakh of rupees collected in the reign of *Aurangzeb*, the *Afghan* governor "extracted no less than twenty lakhs" from the poverty-stricken peasantry of *Kashmir*. The governor "was allowed to execute with impunity every act of violence" provided he punctually paid the annual tribute to the *Kabul Durbar*. *Forster* adds, "This extreme rigour has sensibly affected the deportment

and manners of the Kashmirians who shrink with dread from the Afghan oppressions and are fearful of making any display of opulence."

Very justifiably therefore, does Sir Walter Lawrence characterise this period as "a time of brutal tyranny unrelieved by gold works, chivalry or honour". Yet Hindus like Pandit Zairam Bhan and Pandit Nath Ram Tikoo found favour at the Afghan Court in lieu of their intellectual superiority. Kashmiris longed for a less despotic rule and hopefully looked towards the new warrior sect of the Punjab, the Sikhs, under the eminent leadership of Ranjit Singh. Pandit Birbal Dhar, a diplomatic courtier, went to Lahore and invited Ranjit Singh to put an end to the oppressions of Jabbar Khan, the last Afghan governor. Consequently in 1819, Ranjit Singh's forces, headed by the then Raja Ghulab Singh, entered Kashmir over the Pir Panchal Pass and fought off the Afghans.

Moorecraft travelled in Kashmir in 1824. From his accounts it appears that Sikh rule was no less despotic than that of the Afghans or the Chaks. Only Muslim fanatic vandalism was at an end. Moorecraft bears out how Ranjit Singh would not hesitate to stop the sale of crops in order to realize revenue arrears, which led to "the gradual depopulation of the country." What he also found was: "Every where the people are in the most abject conditions, exorbitantly taxed by the Sikh Government and subjected to every kind of extortion and oppression by its officers". Nature too expressed her ill-timed wrath against the Kashmiris through subjecting them to earthquake, cholera, famine and flood during the Sikh rule. To this day the phrase "the a Sikh face" persists among the Kashmiris signifying extreme rudeness. Indeed the Sikhs "looked upon the Kashmirians as little better than cattle". Merely small

finer would be charged from *Sikh* for the murder of a native. The infamous institution of *Begar*, unpaid forced labour, was reorganised on a slave hunting basis.

Ranjit Singh died in 1839. *Anarchy* prevailed in the *Punjab* for a number of years. The *British* were victorious over the *Sikhs* at *Sabron* in 1846 and under well-known circumstances *Kashmir State* was transferred to *Ghulab Singh*, the erstwhile *Dogra* petty ruler, who, by dint of extraordinary military merit, coupled with astute statesmanship, had risen to occupy a high position in the *Lahore Court*. He had already conquered *Balistan* and *Western Tibet* during 1840-42. In establishing peace and order in *Kashmir*, he evinced qualities of a great administrator. In spite of all his ruthlessness which was completed by his crafty diplomacy, *Tyler*, *Sir Walter Lawrence*, *Captain Cunningham*, *Major Smythe* recorded from personal knowledge of him that was "just and reasonable," "affable in manner," an able and moderate man" and "anything but strong-headed and hot-headed." He possessed a brilliant sense of humour. Once a *Sikh* warrior approached him with a complaint that a *Muslim* shepherd's shouts disturbed his prayers in the *Gurdwara*. "Then, you tend his sheep," was the prompt, silencing reply from the *Maharaja*." He reorganised the *shawl*-industry of *Kashmir*.

In the words of *K.M. Panikhar*,

"*Ghulab Singh* was one of the most remarkable men that *India* produced in the nineteenth century... He is the only ruler in *India's* long history who could be said to have extended the geographical boundaries of *India*. The present *Jammu and Kashmir State* is his monument."

Ghulab Singh died in 1857 after formally abducting the throne to his only surviving son, *Ranbir Singh*. *Maharaja Rambir Singh* was a great administrator and gave

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Kashmir a systematic administration. He was a great patron of learning and made many attempts to raise the cultural level of his people. He introduced many new staples in *Kashmir*.

Maharaja Pratap Singh, who succeeded his father in 1885, brought about many reforms. Public Works Department was set up. Colleges, schools, hospitals and municipalities were established. *Sir Walter Lawrence*, the author of an excellent book on *Kashmir*, completed the Land Settlement, as a result of which many cultivators returned to their deserted holdings. The *Maharaja* abolished *begar* in *Gilgit*, thus removing the last vestige of this infamous legacy of *Muslim* rule in *Kashmir*.

His Highness Maharaja Hari Singh, nephew of the late *Maharaja*, who had already assisted him as the Senior Member of the Council, ascended the throne in 1925. His Highness got the *State Subject* legally defined and strictly enforced. Education has been steadily expanding in the *State* under a planned policy of educational re-organisation. Many hospitals have been set up. Agriculturists' rights have been protected through many acts. Rural Uplift is sponsored by the State. A *Praja Sabha* was established in 1934. Last year two of its popular members were elected to occupy ministerial posts.

CHAPTER VI

KASHMIR—ANCIENT AND MODERN

By
C.E. Tyndale Biscoe

Kashmir fortunately possesses an ancient history, and a civilization more ancient than our own. There are many legends of prehistoric times when the *Vale of Kashmir* was a vast lake and was inhabited by a great snake.

Here is one of their legends.

According to the earliest traditional account this lake occupied the place of *Kashmir Valley*. A demon called *Jalodbhava* (water-born) resided in this lake. This demon caused great distress to all the neighbouring countries by his devastation. At last *Kashyapa Muni* implored Shiva to help him to kill the demon. His prayer was granted, and he succeeded in getting the demon killed, with the help of the gods, near *Kaunsarnag*. Shiva made an exit near *Baramulla* with his trident, the water rushed out and the land thus produced became inhabitable.

At first men dwelt in it for six months only in the year and left *Kashmir* for the six months of winter, when it was occupied by *peshachas* (demons).

Ultimately the people, through *Nilanga's* favour, got rid of these demons, on condition that the people performed certain rites and ceremonies for the good of

these demons, during winter months, and thus the country became inhabitable throughout the year. These rites are still performed by the *Hindus* of *Kashmir*. They are:

1. *Kechi Mavas*.— It occurs in the month of January. A sort of pudding, or polao, is cooked, and in an earthen tray is placed in the middle of the compound for the demons. A line is drawn round the whole house with lime. It is believed that these demons have no power to step over this magical line.

2. *Gada Bata*. The *Hindus* cool rice and fish in the dark fortnight of January. A big bowl full of rice and fish, both cooked and uncooked, is placed in the uppermost storey of the house. A lamp is kept burning and no one is allowed to sleep in that place. The cats generally enjoy a good feast. In the morning the members of the family go up to inspect the place, and they are satisfied to see the bowl empty, thinking it has been eaten by the demons.

3. *Kawa Punim*.— This ceremony is generally performed in the month of February. Rice is cooked and formed into balls. These balls of rice are placed in a kind of big spoon made of twigs and grass, and are put in a prominent place in the house for the goblins in the shape of crows. The children recite this lullaby: "Come! O you crows which are very fond of pudding; bathe in the waters of *Gangabal*; put on a teka of brown clay, bring your she-crows with you, perch yourselves on the eaves of our houses and enjoy a good feast."

Geological observations prove the former existence of a great lake. The lacustrine deposits are undoubtedly found in the *Karewa* palteaux everywhere. Ancient *Kashmir* has long been under the sway of various bonafide rajas. The first raja that appears on the pages of documentary tradition is *Adgonand*, who ascended the throne in 4249 B.C., at a

time when *Egypt* was ruled by demigods. He was succeeded by his son *Danudar*, who was killed by the *Yadhus*, the tribe to which *Krishna* belonged.

Buddhism was introduced into *Kashmir* by *Asoka* in 308 B.C. The founder of this religion was *Sakhi Muni Gaotam*, later on called *Buddha*. He was a prince of a secluded kingdom near *Nepal*, and lived about the time of the "*Captivity of the Jews*." *Raja Jaluki*, the grandson of *Asoka* and the conqueror of *Bacteria*, spread this faith all over the country. *Buddhist* missionaries were sent to *India* to reach them "*The Way*."

The tartars invaded the valley about the commencement of our era. Three of their kings are supposed to have ruled simultaneously. They are: *Hushka*, who founded *Auskar* near *Badgam*; *Zashka*, who founded *Zukar* near the *Nasim Bagh*, and *Kanishka*, who founded *Kanspur*. These kings were very popular in *Kashmir*.

Kashmir was under the rule of white *Huns* during the first half of the sixth century, about the time of the conquest of *England* by the *Saxons*. Their king, *Meharakula*, was notorious for his cruelty and violence. *Buddhism* declined during the time of *Shankaracharya* in the eighth century.

The *Mohammedan* adventurers began to invade the country in the beginning of the eleventh century. *Mahmud of Ghuzni* invaded *Kashmir* in 1015, via *Tosa Maidan*, but was repulsed by the *Kashmir* troops. The famous historian *Albruni* was present with *Mahmud*. The first *Mohammedan* king of *Kashmir* was *Renchan Shah*, who ascended the throne in 1341. He was a *Tibetan*, and had come to *Kashmir* in childhood. He wanted to become a *Hindu*, but the *Brahmans* would not admit him to their religion, so he was forced to receive the tenets of *Islam* from a

Mohammedan fakir named Bulbul Shah, whose ziarat is still in existence, and a part of the city, *Bulbul Lanker*, is still called after his name. *Renchan Shah* afterwards forced the haughty *Brahmans* to become *Mohammedans*. This *Renchan Shah* was a contemporary of *Edward III.* of *England*.

From the time of *Renchan Shah* up to the time of *Sultan Qutub-Din Kashmir* enjoyed considerable peace. During the reign of this sultan, in *A.D. 1395*, *Syid Ali Hamdani*, commonly called *Shah Hamdan*, arrived in *Kashmir*. This man had fled from *Hamdan*, a town in *Persia*, to save himself from the hands of the *Moghul Emperor Tumerlane*. The story of this event is thus briefly told:

Tumerlane, like many Oriental monarchs, was in the habit of going round his capital cities at night, in disguise, in order to find out for himself the condition of his subjects and their opinion about him.

One night he stood outside the house of a very poor man. His children were weeping for want of food and his wife was in a very miserable condition. In her plight she implored her husband to go out and beg food for the children, but the man, being a respectable person, was unwilling to beg. *Tumerlane*, overhearing their conversation, was sorry for them, and quietly threw a few gold mohurs into the house.

In the morning the woman of the house was overjoyed to find the pieces of gold lying on the floor. Her husband bought some food and fed his children, his wife and himself.

His neighbours, seeing them eating good food, guessed that they might have stolen the money. They brought a charge of theft against this poor man, and being

Syids-i.e. descendants of Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet (PBUH)—they would have very easily succeeded in getting him punished and tortured. But happily the King came to know about this so-called theft; so he summoned both the parties before him. The accused told him the whole truth, which of course the King knew himself. The *Syids* contradicted his statement, and declared on oath that they had really been robbed of the money. The King was furious, and he ordered a horse of seven metals to be made. He made it red-hot and ordered all the *Syids* to ride it in order to prove that they were truly *Syids*, because according to *Mohammedan* tradition fire cannot harm the *Syids*. In this way those *Syids* who obeyed the order of the King were burnt to death, and those who disobeyed him were killed by his soldiers. But *Syid Ali Hamdani* managed to escape this ordeal, and he fled to *Kashmir*. It was through his and his son's instigation that the *Hindus* of *Kashmir* were ruthlessly persecuted by *Qutub-ud-Din* and his successor, *Sikander* the *Idol Breaker*. Hundreds were converted to *Islam* by force, hundreds of those who refused were put to the sword. *Sikander* destroyed all their sacred places and monuments of historical importance. With the material he built mosques and *ziarats* in various places. *Shah Hamdan* is believed to be a great saint by the *Sunni Mohammedans* of *Kashmir*, and his *ziarat*, which was originally built by *Qutub-ud-Din*, is still seen below the Third Bridge, in the city.

Sikander's son, *Ali Shah*, who ascended the throne in 1435, and who was the contemporary of *Henri VI. of England*, completed the work of destruction which his father had undertaken. During his reign hundreds of *Hindus* committed suicide. Scores set fire to their own houses and burnt themselves and their families alive, and many

drowned themselves in different wells to save their dharma (religion). Some tried to escape with their children to foreign countries, but their movements were watched and the passes were guarded, so they killed themselves by throwing themselves over precipices.

Those who were left to their fate and were still alive enjoyed some respite during the reign of *Ali Shah's son, Zain-ul-Abidin*. He was a good and humane ruler. It was he who induced the *Hindus* to study *Persian* and accept Government posts. So during his time the *Hindu* community was split into two sections—those who accepted Government posts and those who still clung to their own *shastras*. The former, from that time, were called *Karkuns* (Government servants) and the latter *Peruhets* (priests). It was *Zain-ul-Abidin* who introduced the art of weaving *Kashmiri shawls* and making paper. Up to his time the *Hindu* scribes used to write their scriptures on birch-bark.

From his time to the time of *Akbar the Great*, *Kashmir* was ruled by different *Mohammedan Kings*, both native and foreign. During their rule the poor *Hindus*, the victims of their wrath, were more or less harassed and embarrassed. They pillaged their houses, oppressed them without scruple and insulted them without compunction. *Akbar* was the contemporary of "*Queen Bees*" of *England*. He conquered *Kashmir* in 1587. He built the wall round *Hari Parbat Hill* in the city. Throughout the *Moghul* period the *Hindus* enjoyed some security of person and property. They were entrusted with high Government posts. It was *Akbar* who was pleased with their erudition and intelligence and gave them the surname of *Pandits* (learned men).

During the reign of his son *Jahangir*, who laid out many lovely gardens and villas in *Kashmir*, the *Subedar* of this place was enamoured by the beauty of a *Hindu* girl. When he could not obtain her consent without making trouble he had resource to a clever trick, as he thought. He persuaded an old Mohammedan woman to appear veiled before his court and she, personating the aforesaid *Hindu* girl, professed her love for the *Subedar* and was ready to marry him, but was prevented by her father under the influence of his co-religionists. The *Subedar* obtained a *rewayet* (order) from the mullahs permitting him to marry the girls without her father's consent. He then sent troops to the house of the innocent girl to seize her by force and bring her to his harem. His orders were promptly executed. The father of the girl was a discreet person. He made no fuss but, through his daughter, requested the *Subedar* to wait six months which he readily agreed to, from the fear of the King. Meanwhile her father quietly set out for *Agra*, to *Jehangir*. When he reached the palace he rang the bell which *Jehangir* had attached to his private chambers and told the *Emperor* the whole story of this villainy. *Jehangir*, ease-loving as he was, at once mounted his famous dromedary and, attended by a few of his bodyguards, journeyed to *Kashmir* in disguise. When he reached *Srinagar* he went straight to the house of the *Mohammedan* woman who had personated the *Hindu* girl, and pretending to be a foreigner, and giving her some pieces of gold to prepare some food for him, he made her relate the whole story. The *Emperor* spent the night in her house. In the morning he put on his Court dress and went to the imperial palace. It was at once rumoured that the *Emperor* was there. The *Subedar* and other high officials, in

consternation, presented themselves and paid their homage to their lidge lord.

The *Emperor* as usual asked them if all was well, and while this conversation was proceeding, the *Hindu*, as prearranged, submitted his complain against the *Subedar*. As a matter of course the *Subedar* tried to convince the King that the *kafir* (infidel) had told abominable lies and put before the King the *futwa* (decree) of the *mullahs*. The King at once summoned the woman in whose house he had passed the night. The woman at once recognized her guest and she, without any hesitation, divulged the whole secret before all the courtiers. The *Subedar* was dumbfounded. The *Emperor* summoned all the *mullahs*. They too could do naught but confess their crime. Then and there *Jahangir* struck off the head of the sinful *Subadar* with his own hand. He arrested all the *mullahs* and had them led in chains to a place outside *Akbar's* wall, round *Hari Parbat*, and there had them blown to pieces from a big gun. They were buried, without any funeral rites, in the same place. From that time the place received the name of *Mullah Khan*. *Jehangir's* son *Shah Jahan*, built many palaces and laid out many gardens in the *Happy Valley*. His son, *Aurangzeb*, who ascended the throne in 1658, and who was the contemporary of *Charles II.*, *James II.* and *William III.* of *England*, again began to persecute the *Hindus* in *Kashmir* and elsewhere.

Kashmir remained under the tyranny of the *Moghul Subedars* up to the years 1751, when it was conquered by *Ahmad Shah Durani*, who assassinated his own master, *Nadir Shah*, soon after 1738. With this murderer and his *Afghan* successors returned the evil days of the *Hindus*.

It remained for these *Afghans* to continue the work of spoliation and slaughter already begun. They collected

all the religious scriptures of the *Hindus*. With these they constructed a bund, called *Mussuth*, which is still extant. When they put them into bags and drowned them in the *Dal Lake*. The place where these atrocities were committed is still called *Batta Mazir* (the graveyard of the *Hindus*).

Their houses were ransacked, they were freely tortured to accept *Islam*, and heir women were taken away from them and used as concubines. Numbers of the poor *Hindus* died of ill-usage or slew themselves to avoid it. They were not allowed to put on their turbans. If they appeared in a public street any *Mohammedan* could ride on their backs and force them to carry him a certain distance. This was called *Khos*.

This reign of terror lasted till 1820, when *Ranjit Singh*, the *Raja of the Punjab*, conquered *Kashmir*, and rescued the remaining handful of the *Hindus* from the claws of their oppressors. To take revenge the *Sikhs* in their turn persecuted the *Mohammedans*. During this time the *Mohammedans* could not freely offer prayers.

After the first *Sikh* war *Kashmir* was ceded to the *British*, who sold it to *Maharaja Gulab Singh* in 1846. The grandson of this *Raja* is the present *Maharaja of Kashmir*.

His Highness the Maharajah General Sir Pratap Singh, who ascended the *Gadhi* in the year 1886, is ruler over a large tract of country the size of *England* and *Scotland*, which includes, besides the *Vale of Kashmir*, *Jammu*, *Punch*, *Ladakh*, *Baltistan* and all the States included in the *Gilgit Agency*, with a population of over three millions. *His Highness* is aided in the government of his *State* by three ministers—the *Cheif*, *Revenue* and *Home Minister*, men who have been selected by the *Indian Government* and approved of by his *Highness*.

Then there is the *British Resident*, who is the King's representative and has the assistance of other *British officers*. One is his personal assistant. There are also the *Resident of Poonch State*, the *Resident of Ladakh* and *Baltistan* and the *Agent of Gilgit*, which includes all the mountain states, *Chillas*, *Hunzar Nagar*, etc. Since the year 1890 there have been thirteen Residents. On my arrival here *Colonel Parry Nisbet* was the Resident, and a great personality he was, for it was through his tact and energy that the *Jhelum Valley* cart-road was cut along the mountain-sides from *Domel* to *Baramulla*, a magnificent piece of engineering, the work of the *State Engineer*, *Mr. Alkinson*, and carried through by *Spending & Co.*, contractors.

The Resident's position is not altogether an easy one, for it is one requiring much tact, patience and courage.

It would be invidious to single out those who have done especially good work. Some of course have possessed stronger characters than others, and have consequently left their mark for good on the country, and their memory in the hearts of the people.

There are also *British* advisors in the various departments of the State, such as the Army, P.W.D. Accountants, Land Settlement, etc.

The heir to the *Ghadi* is *General Prince Sir Hari Singh, K.C.S.I.*, son of the late *Sir Raja Amar Singh*, who was a man of power. The young Prince is a sportsman, and possesses a keen sense of justice and plenty of commonsense.

CHAPTER VII

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA ABOUT KASHMIR

BY

Sachidananda Sinha

*Her sukhta jane ki ba Kashmir dar ayeed,
Ger murgh kabab ast aba bal o par ayeed.
("Any burnt creature, even though a roasted,
fowl, shall get back its feathers in Kashmir")*

*A well-known
Persian couplet.*

I

The Jammu-Kashmir State__ which lies between 32.17' and 36.58' North Latitude, and 72.26' and 80.30' East Longitude__ is, in point of area, the largest of the Indian States, as it covers about 85,000 square miles. Situate in the north-west of India, to the north of the British-Indian province of the Punjab, it is the largest Indian State, being larger even than Hyderabad; and co-extensive in area with the four large States of Mysore, Bikaner, Gwalior and Baroda, taken together. But being a mountainous country it is sparsely populated, and its total population, at the time of the Census held in 1941, was about four millions. On the north the Jammu-Kashmir State is bounded by the Chinese and Russian Turkistan, on the east by the Chinese Tibet, on the south and on the west,

Geographical Data About Kashmir

by the *British Indian* provinces of the *Punjab* and the *North-Western Frontier Province*, respectively. To appreciate fully its political importance, one should look at a map of *Asia*, to find that the territories of four powers, viz., *Britain*, *China*, *Russia*, and *Afghanistan*, meet on the northern border of the State, and as such it is, from the strategic point of view, the sentry State, so to say, of the *British-Indian Empire*. As regard its physical features, in addition to a small strip of land along the borders of *Jammu*, which is a continuation of the great plain of the *Punjab*, and also a bleak tract adjoining the *Karakoram* mountains, the territories of the *Jammu and Kashmir State* include—putting it broadly—the valleys formed by the *Chenab* and the *Jhelum* rivers, and the middle reaches of the *Indus*, all of which thread their way through the State to form later mighty water-ways in the *Punjab* and *Sindh*. Though not the largest in population of the *Indian States* as it is in area it has still one of about four millions, which is larger than that of several States in *Europe*. Thus viewed either from the standard of area, population or its strategic importance *Kashmir* is undoubtedly one of the most importance *Indian States*, while as a playground it is undoubtedly unparalleled in *Asia*, if not in the whole world.

To form an accurate impression of *Kashmir* from the scenic point of view one should imagine a large plateau over five thousand feet high, extending roughly for about ninety miles from north to south, and from twenty to twenty-five miles across, through the centre of which winds the broad *Jhelum* river, from the waters of which a network of streams, canals, and lakes spreads over the whole country. As one approaches *Kashmir* from *Jammu*, by the *Banihal* pass (9,000 feet high) preferably in spring, the whole plateau unfolds itself before one in a haze of delicate

colouring, with willow-trees and tall popular avenues rising out of the pale shimmering waters; and the entire lovely basin circled, without a break, by snow, on the top of mountain ranges averaging in height 12,000 to 17,000 feet, following each other in flowing lines across the sky, and presenting a vision which is indescribable.

The *Valley of Kashmir* contains the most fertile land, and has long been famed for its unrivalled beauty. Its forms an irregular ellipse ringed in by mighty mountain ranges. The great snow-clad barrier of the *Pir Panjal* range, from 10,000 to 15,000 feet high, which separates *Kashmir* from the plains of *India*, presents an unbroken ridge, from the *Banihal* pass to the gorge at *Baramulla*, and is covered all the year round with snow, which glitters in the blue heavens at noon, and also at the setting of the Sun—changing colour from the plainest to the deepest shade of copper, till the passing of the last rays leaves it a cold ashen grey; while on the north rise the wild and barren outlines of the *Hindu-Kush* and *Karakoram* mountains, over which glisten the snows on the lofty peaks of the *Haramukh* and the *Nanga Parbat*.

Through the valley of *Kashmir* meander the great *Jhelum* and its tributary waters, widening into the *Woolar* and several other lakes. The rich green fields of rice and maize, diversified in season by stretches of the golden mustard, or the purple saffron, by rich orchards laden with blossom or with fruit, and above all, by stately avenues of poplars, graceful groves of willow, and groups of shadow-spreading chenars—those glorious plane trees which *Kashmir* owes to the bounty and foresight of the *Indo-Moghal Emperors*, who made *Kashmir* their favourite recreation ground—offer an unparalleled loveliness.

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In a sense *Kashmir* is a definite historical, cultural and linguistic unit. It has an overwhelming proportion of *Muslims* in the population: about 93 per cent of them. If the *Jammu* province be also included, the *Muslim* proportion of the *State* is reduced to about 77 per cent which is a substantial majority. The *Kashmiris* are skillful artisans and artists, and their arts and crafts have been famous for ages. Many languages and dialects are spoken in the *State*, but the principal language of the valley is *Kashmiri*, as are *Dogri* and *Punjabi* of *Jammu*. But *Hindustani* in both its literary forms of *Hindi* and *Urdu* is well understood and spoken, and it is, along with *English*, the lingua franca of the *State*, and also the court language. A number of newspapers and journals are printed mainly at *Srinagar* and *Jammu* in *English*, *Hindi* and *Urdu*.

The most striking physiographical feature of *Kashmir* apart from the mountains that surround it is the river *Jhelum*, which flows through the valley and which is navigable for a distance of about ninety miles, from *Khanabal*, in the north, to *Baramulla* in the south. *Khanabal*, the highest point which can be navigated is not far from the spring of *Verinag*, which as the source of the *Jhelum*, is one of the interesting and attractive sights of *Kashmir*. If *Egypt* be the gift of the *Nile*, it is truer to say that *Kashmir* is the gift of the *Jhelum*. There is no other instance of a valley of the dimensions of the *Kashmir*, and at an altitude of five thousand feet above the sea level, having a broad river interesting it for so long a distance. Before the time of the construction of motor roads between *Srinagar* and *Khanabal*, and also between the former and *Baramulla*, it was the *Jhelum* which was the great highway of passenger and goods traffic, up and down the valley.

And though the construction of the motor road has affected considerably the passenger traffic on the river, the transport of all kinds of articles and goods, on the broad bosom of *Jhelum*, still goes on as extensively as it did in centuries past. *Khanabal* is not only the river head on the north, but is also the chief centre of trips to various interesting places in its neighbourhood-such as the spring at Achhabal, where the *Indo-Moghal Emperor, Jehangir*, built a garden, which is magnificent even in its ruins; and also *Pahalgam*, the chief centre of attraction, at the head of the *Lidar* valley, which has now become a fashionable summer resort, specially for *Indians*. At the southern end of the valley is situated the town of *Baramulla*, which was destroyed by a devastating earthquake in 1885; but which has since been rebuilt, and is now a rising commercial and industrial town. Of late, several industrial concerns have been established here, which have conduced to the progress and prosperity of *Baramulla*.

On its journey southwards from the spring at *Verinag* to *Baramulla*-where the river ceases to be navigable, and flows over rocky beds in a series of rapids, until it enters the plains of the *Punjab*, and becomes again a large and a broad river-the *Jhelum* receives many tributaries in its course through the valley of *Kashmir*. But the two principal tributaries of the river are the *Liddar* and the *Sindh*. The *Liddar* discharges itself into the *Jhelum* at a point not far above *Khanabal*; while the *Sindh* enters into the river *Jhelum* at *Ganderbal*. The other tributaries are of minor importance. To keep a sufficient quantity of water in the river, all the year round, the *Chhatabal* dam was constructed in 1916, by blocking and unblocking which the water in the river is maintained at the level required.

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Outside *Srinagar*, the only two places of any importance are *Anantnag* (also called *Islamabad*), which is close to *Khanabal*, and the now growing town of *Baramulla*. *Anantnag* is an ancient town of *Kashmir*, and is still famous for the manufacture of exceedingly good and well-designed floor cloths, called *gabhas*, which are one of the specialties of *Kashmir* craftsmen. Though the handicrafts of *Kashmir* are mainly manufactured in the villages, the chief emporium for their trade and sale in *Srinagar*, where are to be found the leading dealers in *Kashmir* products, and artistic goods and wares. Until lately the firms of such dealers were situated between the second and the fourth bridges at *Srinagar*, but now almost all of them have their show-rooms on the river bund, below the Post and Telegraph Offices. *Srinagar*-the ancient capital of *Kashmir*, and the most populous city in the *Jammu* and *Kashmir* State-is the summer headquarters of the Government, the winter headquarters being still retained, as of old, at *Jammu*. The population of *Srinagar*, in 1941, was nearly two lakhs. There is no other city, either in *Jammu* or *Kashmir*, to approach *Srinagar* in interest, as a city of historic and industrial importance.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MOUNTAINS AND MARGS OF KASHMIR

BY
C.G. BRUCE

The valley of *Kashmir* is almost encircled by lofty mountain ranges. It has one outlet which we passed, at *Baramulla*, through which the waters of the *Jhelum* pour down. The chief ranges are those within the limits of *Kashmir* itself. The average height above the sea of the valley is 5000 feet. *Kashmir*, you will remember, was added to the dominions of *Jammu* in 1846.

We all know about the great mountain system running from the north-west to the south-east of upper *India*, the *Himalayas*, and how it is a mass of peaks from the *Hindu Kush* at the far north-east to the mountain monarch near *Darjeeling*, where the highest one, *Mount Everest*, reigns in distant Nepal.

Kashmir boasts some grandees too. *Nanga Parbat* is nearly 27,000 feet high, and is a magnificent snow massif, with four peaks. It is the view most coveted from the various hill stations along the ridge we left behind us on our drive from *Murree*, also from different points in *Kashmir*. It is also the geographical end of the *Himalayas* proper. *Nanga Parbat* stands head and shoulders above any other neighbouring mountain.

Three members of an expedition (which included *Professor N. Collie*, *Mr. Hastings*, and *Major Bruce of the 5th Gurkhas*) were destined to finish their span of life there. *Dr. Mummery* of *Alpine* fame, with two gallant *Gurkha* soldiers, also found their graves amidst its marble-white cliffs of ice. Surely, if their time had come, this was as noble a resting-place for earthly remains as any man-built cathedral. They paid the toll which the proud mountains now and then exact from aspiring men, but their bones are guarded in a crystal urn.

I shall never forget the best view I ever had of *Nanga Parbat*, for though I had seen it from various points, this picture is the one I constantly look at mentally. Having crossed the *Nag Marg Pass* and spent several days with a sister spirit, walking and sometimes riding on funny little *Kashmiri* ponies, we at last left the pretty valley of the *Lolab*; climbing up through a dense forest of deodar trees, having been amused on the way by groups of chattering monkeys who much resented our intrusion, running along with great bounds and swinging themselves from branch to branch, we at last emerged on a platform of lately harvested wheat-fields. And there, spread out before us, without money and without price, was one of the two finest mountain views in the world—the whole *Nanga Parbat* massif, with its four peaks, of which there is one chief. From the plateau of *Lash* there is a straight view. No tiresome hills to block it out, although the intervening heights were 14,000 and 15,000 feet high. They had all seemed to prostrate themselves into worshiping folds of blue and purple velvet that they might the better show up their snowy king, *Nanga Parbat*.

In the immediate foreground stood ranks of stalwart pine trees, silent and solemn in their uniform of deep green

just as *Robin Hood's* archers might have stood round their forest king. The monarch himself, in snowy robes, flecked at their hem with ermine points of black rock, stood forth in the evening sunshine, and gazed proudly over mile upon mile of purpling hill and green valley; over gleaming lake and river; over golden brown fields and flower-spangled grassland; over noble trees sheltering wooden hamlets; and the evening breeze seemed to waft such thoughts as these as we sat and gazed at that sunlit purity: "*O vale of Kashmir, I watch o'er thee. I am a king from whose heights flow cooling waters. Lift thine eyes to the hills from whence cometh thy help, but remember I am but a regent of the King of King of obeying the behest of Him who made heaven and earth. The secret of my making and of thy making lie with Him. Let all the earth worship Him who was and is and is to be.*"

With reluctant steps we went on to our camp, feeling inclined to step backwards from that royal presence.

But there are many other splendid peaks in *Kashmir*. The twins *Nun Kun* of 24,000 feet, and *Nubra* about the same height, are seen from the end of *Kashmir* as a reward for climbing a steep pass.

The spurs of *Mount Haramouk*, a rugged mass of 16,000 feet, run right down to the shore of the *Wular Lake*. Its snowy crest also has four peaks, and it is reflected in the long silent lines of water at its feet. There are wonderful snowcliffs 200 feet deep, and snowfields and glaciers enough to delight most mountaineers, and many have been attracted by it.

Kolahoni is quite a different-looking mountain, with a steep needle peak, and black precipices from the point downwards. The road up to it from the *Lider* valley passes

The Mountains and Margs of Kashmir

through grand forests of pine after grassy glades and walnuts.

Tuttakutti is the highest point in the *Pir Pangal*, nearly 16,000 feet and there is *Apharawat* also, which towers over *Gulmarg*. The *Kaj-i-Nag* runs more in a uniform barrier, but it glistens and sparkles with sapphire blue and crystal, and also reflects its beauty in the calm waters of river and lake, and even little ponds of pools show it up proudly in their small mirrors.

These are the best-known mountains of *Kashmir*, but there are innumerable others, most of them unnamed and unclimbed, of 16,000 feet and over. And even these "third-rates", as mountaineers call them, are higher than *Mount Blanc*, the highest peak in the *Alps*, so you can imagine how immense is the scale of the *Himalayas*.

We are not taken into consideration the outlying mountain ranges, such as the *Karakoram* and *Mustagh*, which, though, geographically speaking, lying within the kingdom of *Kashmir*, are not within *Kashmir* proper.

There are even more ranges again in *Kishtewar*, *Poonch*, and other surrounding districts, but this book-or shall I say trip? —will not allow of our even attempting to get a distant view or description of them.

Not the least of the wonder and mystery which surround the great mountains of this earth is the fact that they themselves were once lowly parts of it, that they rose in slow and silent obscurity till at last they emerged from the depths of the vast waters which have now receded far from their lofty heights.

No mention of mountains would be complete without a description of the *margs*.

The meaning of the word *marg* is simply an open grassy upland or alp, and the *alps* of *Kashmir* are as

charming in their way as the well-known *Alps of Switzerland*.

One of the prettiest of those in *Kashmir* is *Nagmarg*, at the head of the *Wular Lake*, above the village of *Alsu*. The climb up from this picturesque walnut-sheltered village is steep, about 3500 feet above the lake, and the view from its grassy meadow-land is lovely. Pine forests frame it in, and from the highest ridge two of *Nanga Parbat's* peaks can be seen. Facing us in the hoary old *Haramouk*, and we can trace the course of the river in delicate grey serpentines through the glassy waters of the lake.

Far away on the wide horizon glisten the mountains of the *Kaj-i-Nag* and *Kaghan*, and fainter still, the range of the *Pir Pangal*. With sighs of regret we leave such a view, but there are no huts on this marg, nor is there water enough to camp here. These mountain downs are favourite grazing pastures for cattle, sheep, and ponies.

Sonamarg is another of these uplands, also charming, and a favourite camping garden, for it is indeed a wilderness of flowers, from the first primula pushing its mauve balls through the snow, to the forget-me-nots of June, and more gaudy autumn blossoms. Belted in with forests of various trees, snowy hills rising above them, a gracefully winding river, and another mountain head showing over the pass, combine to make *Sonamarg* a lovely specimen of *alp*.

But the favourite of all the *margs*, though it does not exceed these two in beauty, is *Gulmarg*, or the meadow of roses. It is over 8000 feet above *Sea-Level*, and has a splendid climate during the summer months. The chief *alp*, which gives its name to the whole stretch of grassy upland, is two miles long and half a mile broad.

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Here are the race-course, polo ground, golf links, and tennis courts. Here are the church, post and telegraph offices, ball-room and club, library and native shops, while endless wooden huts are dotted about the turfy slopes. They are built chiefly by English people.

The season lasts from *June to September*, though some people go up as early as the end of *April* and stay over the first of *November*; but there is any early and heavy snowfall, and the huts are half buried in snow during the winter months when the place is deserted. Undulating downs, with fir trees in clumps, bubbling streams, and, lower down towards the plains, a ridge of pines, make a charming selection of sites for the little chalets, while a protecting screen of dense forest covers the hills which slope up to the mountains behind.

Khilanmarg is another of these upland meadows. And the great *Tosh Maidan* spreads its extensive downs for miles.

Gulmarg is the holiday centre now for Northern *India*, and the goal of many a globe-trotter as well as those whose professional lives are fixed in *India*. With just as great joy as the *Moghul* emperors and their entourage sought *Kashmir* do *Englishmen* on leave, and ladies with children, order their *tongas* and set their faces to *Gulmarg*. To much Eastern sun is not appreciated even by Eastern themselves, far less by people who exclaim when the thermometer reaches 80 degree.

Gulmarg is the summer residence of the *Maharajah* and his nobles, of the *British* resident, and of *Kashmir* bigwings. It is a fine sanatorium, and social sports such as are dear to English men and women can be enjoyed.

The mountain of *Apharwat*, 14,500 feet, is one of the favourite expeditions, and there are little lakes and side valleys well worthy of picnic days.

The view of *Nanga Parbat* is splendid. On the one hand, we see distant *Srinagar* and its lakes and river gleaming and scintillating in the sunshine; on the other, nut-brown villages nestling among fine plane and walnut trees, surrounded by green rice-fields which slope down to the river. The river *Jhelum* from this distance appears as a bright silver ribbon, and in hazy beauty one sees the ranges of the *Pir Pangal* and *Kaj-i-Nag*, with *Nanga Parbat's* majestic beauty the most conspicuous feature. I think you will agree *Gulmarg* is worth visiting.

The best thing to do is to go to a picnic place in summer. It is quicker than going across country. And so it is with travel in a mountainous country. One makes for a pass instead of a railway junction, as it is the lowest or easiest point at which to cross the mountains. The lowest pass in the Himalayas in the Zaskar in Kashmir, and it leads into Central Asia from the charming *Srinagar* we have just been visiting in imagination.

To go from one side of the pass to the other is an object lesson in watersheds. Supposing we cross the pass in early August. We leave a series of wet camps in the Sind valley, for though we may have one bright day at *Srinagar* the monsoon rainfall has set in, and the next day is wet again. So we start from *Bahawal*, a green camp of soaked grass and dripping trees in a thick Scotch mist, and with heavy loads (for wet tents are nearly double the weight of dry), we slowly wind our way into the defile and up a steep zigzag path. Though we have ponies, we soon prefer to dismount of our own accord before the saddles slip back, for it is very steep. But we can scramble along bravely, if

CHAPTER IX

THE PASSES OF KASHMIR

By
C.G. BRUCE

Y ou know how in railway travelling, if one has get from one rather remote place to another, the best thing to do is to go to a junction and change there. It is quicker than going across country. And so it is with travel in a mountainous country. One makes for a pass instead of a railway junction, as it is the lowest or easiest point at which to cross the mountains. The lowest pass in the *Himalayas* in the *Zojila* in *Kashmir*, and it leads into *Central Asia* from the charming *Sonamarg* we have just been visiting in imagination.

To go from one side of the pass to the other is an object lesson in watersheds. Supposing we cross the pass in early *August*. We leave a series of wet camps in the *Sind* valley, for though we may have one bright day at *Sonamarg* the monsoon rainfall has set in, and the next day is wet again. So we start from *Baltal*, a green camp of soaked grass and dripping trees in a thick Scotch mist, and with heavy loads (for wet tents are nearly double the weight of dry), we slowly wind our way into the defile and up a steep zigzag path. Though we have ponies, we soon prefer to dismount of our own accord before the saddles slip back, for it is very steep. But we can scramble along bravely, if

breathlessly, and the ponies give us a helping tail to hang on by.

The masses of lovely wild flowers all the way up keep us in exclamations of delight. Fancy cup-and-saucer canterbury bells like little white coffee-cups, and blue aconites and larkspurs, with various coloured michaelmas daisies ! If we ask our pony-men or coolies what are the names of these (to us) garden treasures, they look astonished and reply, "Oh, flowers, these are called flowers." "Yes, but what are their names ?" "Oh, flowers, just flowers," they repeat, very unlike our own country-folk at home, who have a common name for each wild flower. But the country-folk know the wild herbs, and find some medicinal virtue in nearly all of them.

At last we finish our climb, and pause to wonder where the ancient battle between the hillmen and invaders from the north took place, and we recall similar battles such as those in our own famous *Killiecrankie* and *Glencoe* Passes. But having got very hot, and feeling very wet from heat and rain, we must not stop, for it is too damp to sit about, you say. *Damp* ? Why, it is as dry as a bone. All the moisture remains on the *Kashmir* side of the watershed, and we are on short dry turf with bare bold rocks all about us, and the *Dras* river cutting its way between rocks burnt black as coal slag by the fierce sun in that dry air. Here and there patches of snow demonstrate to us that a month or two back we should have had great difficulty in making our way over the pass.

Not so many marches on is another pass, the *Umba La*, still in *Kashmir* territory, and leading us over into the district of *Suru*.

Starting from another narrow defile, in which a winding stream finds its way down through reddish rock,

we find ourselves on steep grassy slopes. Again we hang on to the ponies' tails as they gallantly drag us up. But now and then we pause to pick the alpine flowers, which in the fresh breeze billow on the hillside like multi-coloured waves; such edelweiss, and such endless treasure, that one groans at leaving them behind ! At last we must turn our backs on them, for we are nearing the summit of the pass, where fresh delights are awaiting us.

Here we are at about 15,000 feet, on a level with the top of *Mount Blanc*, and with a perfect view spread out on every side; peak after peak, range behind range, fading into blue and silver haze. Here and there glaciers make splashes of white, and reddish brown, some are bare and bleak; but the whole panorama is so grand and the air so brilliant, that we forget our fatigue as we rest on the backing rocks.

The descent, some 4000 feet, needs all our fortitude. Blistered toes, aching backs, cramped legs, with continual slips in soft dusty shale, make one long for a *Swiss* railway; so you see the epithet, "easiest place to cross a mountain range," applied to passes, is only by way of comparison.

To get back into the *Kashmir* valley we have to cross two more passes, the *Bot Khol* and the *Margan*. The former is very high up, and consists chiefly of glaciers and seracs, or deep fissures in the ice. On a fine morning it is glorious work, but though we start in sunshine rain comes up on the other side (for we are going over again to the wet side of the watershed), and we have to camp on the pass in driving rain and sleet, and it is bitterly cold. But to-morrow is sure to be fine, and then we shall have another splendid view right down the glacier which takes us into the *Wardwan* valley, and so back over the *Margan Pass* into *Kashmir* itself again.

One very famous pass we must not omit to visit while we are in *Kashmir*, and that is the *Traghal*, which is above the head of the *Wular Lake*. Starting from *Bandipura*, it is the direct military road to *Gilgit* and *Astor*, two important outposts of our frontier; now a respectable road, in old days a mere track. *Traghal* itself is a grass clearing in the forest on the mountain side, surrounded with pine forests, from which you get lovely peeps of the *Wular Lake* and a perfect view of *Mount Haramouk*. The central point of the pass is five miles farther on 12,000 feet high.

This snowy shelf is the said spot where we would bid farewell to fair *Kashmir* if our way took us towards *Central Asia*.

In speaking of the hazardous bridges of *Kashmir*, we should mention another kind common in the mountains, a snow bridge. These are built by nature, not man, and are formed by avalanches of snow which fall in the winter and early spring. The great mass falls down the mountainside till a narrow valley and a frozen torrent bring it up. It blocks up the narrow road and freezes as hard as stone. By degrees this great mass is melted by *June* sunshine, and it breaks up and falls into the river, here and there leaving regular bridges of frozen snow. These are hard, and safe to cross in early summer, and we may stand on one and watch the melting waters churning and raging their frothy, impatient way down the rocky channel, and thundering under another bridge of grey and yellow marble, for as the snow melts it looks dirty yellow with black streaks. Sometimes with a roar the bridge falls in, and the triumphant waters dash great blocks of frozen snow along in their haste to join the main river and melt into its calm peace.

Over some of the mountain torrents beyond the beaten track we have to cross much worse bridges than

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even these. A snow bridge is either passable when it is easy enough, or it is unsafe and impassable. But the country-folk make rough wooden bridges, which are generally safe, but terribly unpleasant to us, though the native coolies or porters will trot over them quite happily with a load on their backs. The worst kind are fashioned from rough trees, which are just thrown across, and, if the torrent is wide, two trees are employed. The roots are buried in earth and heavy stones on either side of the stream; and the trunks, from which the branches and bark have been stripped, are lashed together with branch rope. It is the old cantilever principle, but in the rough is inclined to sag even more than a well-bred dachshund. We once crossed such a bridge as this, but you may be sure we came back a different way.



CHAPTER X

THE ANCIENT *HINDU* RULE

BY
Jai La/Kilam

The history of *Kashmir*, as elsewhere in *India*, begins with the story about the *Brahman*-*Kshatriya* alliance, one supporting the other for their common good. The *Kshatriya* ruling classes made rich endowments upon the *Brahmanical* institutions and the *Brahmans* in their turn sang their praises and helped in the creation of an ideology in their favour. The social polity which guaranteed to both an ascendancy over others lasted as long as the tribal economy prevailed in the society. The history of this period in *Kashmir* naturally deals only with the exploits and achievements of these two classes. But such a state of affairs could not last for long. The society did at last emerge itself out of the primitive tribal communistic stage and even in *Vedic* times we find the birth of a rich trading class. This class by its contact with the outside world became the harbinger of a new set of ideas free from the shackles of rigid *Brahmanical* tents. This gave rise to a system of materialistic thought even prior to the advent of *Buddhism*. In course of time, the trading classes gathered much political power and gradually organized themselves in guilds to protect themselves from the undue exactions of

their *Kshatriya* rulers. They sought the alliance of the freed *Shudras* and husbandmen who had by now begun to own private property in land and goods. In course of time much of the political power fell into the hands of this new trading class and the social rigidity, which was the result of *Brahmanical* teachings invented to maintain the superiority of themselves and of the ruling classes, began to break down. This created a disturbance in the social equilibrium as it created many more classes. In the course of further development we find the different classes and at another time there was a feud between the people and the nobles. At last there came about an unprecedented struggle between the *Kshatriyas* and *Brahmans*. In the mythological literature the *Brahmans* are said to have been led by *Parasurama*, and the *Kshatriyas* by *Kartavirjarjuna*. This great struggle is said to have lasted for about a hundred years and ended in a great disaster for the *Brahmans*, though at last they succeeded in gaining some concessions such as freedom from capital punishment, etc. As already stated, the birth of a rich commercial class created a breach in the citadel of the tribal economy, and freed the peoples thought from the *thralldom* of *Brahmanical* priest-craft, and it was but natural that the ruling classes should have turned now more towards them for help and support than their erstwhile allies the *Brahmans*, who in the changed circumstances could not be of much use. A struggle between *Kshatriyas* and *Brahmans* was therefore inevitable, in which the *Kshatriyas* were by far the successful party and the *Brahmans* in spite of securing some concessions, were forced to play the second fiddle. Freedom of thought now became an established fact. Eleretical sects with a definite anti-*Brahman* bias began to grow. The *Brahmans* retorted by calling them as *Anarya*

i.e., those who had deviated from the *Vedic* path. The seed of heterodoxy was sown in *Magdha Desha*, and it was here that the teachings of the *Buddha* were firstly accepted. It is noteworthy that the founders, expounders and the *Kshatriya* class, who now allied themselves freely with freed *Shudras* and *Vaishas* as against the *Brahmans*, thus bringing into existence a new phase in class struggle i.e., religious struggle. This struggle lasted for a number of centuries, till *Brahmanical* counter-revolution succeeded in establishing its hold again, though not without making many concessions to Buddhism, such as installing the *Buddha* as an *Avtara*.

In *Kashmir*, prior to the installation of Buddhism in the land as *State* religion, we come across with a string of Kings, some of whom were very nice fellows who built towns, constructed canals, and helped agriculture and yet there were many others who freely partook of the moral anarchy that had become the order of the day. It is evident that even before *Buddhism* had set its foot in *Kashmir*, there was a great deal of revulsion in men's mind against the performance of the ritualistic ceremonies in a mechanical manner, and in the absence of an alternative programme of religion, moral and social anarchy was the result. But even as it was, there were preachers (probably *Buddhists*) who tried to wean the people from the path of sin and error. There were also kings who lived a *Buddhist* life, though without proclaiming themselves as such. Thus we come across with *Durnadeo* and *Simhadeo*—father and son—who ruled over *Kashmir* for a considerable period, and in whose reigns meat eating was banned, and the frivolities and other luxuries which attended the royal courts were completely banned. Similarly in the reign of *Sundersen* we find a preacher *Nanda Gupta* raising his

voice against the prevailing moral disorder which had reached its peak by then. And Buddhism at last succeeded. With the country passing into the hands of *Asoka*, *Buddhism* received a great encouragement. The rise of Buddhism and *Brahmanical* reactions to it gave rise to a long drawn struggle between the two rival ideologies. Powerful kings—both *Buddhist* and *Brahman*-sprang from this struggle. Some of them were great builders etc. *Ashoka* himself built many stupas and founded the city of *Srinagar*. The rule of *Asoka* in *Kashmir* was followed by that of *Jaloka*, who is mentioned in *Rajatarangini* as his son. *Buddhism* not having yet planted its roots deep in men's minds, this prince reverted back to *Brahmanism*, built many temples, made rich endowments on them and besides a number of "men well versed in law and religion belonging to all the four castes," were imported from *Kanauj* where he had led a successful military expedition. It might seem that *Brahmanical* reaction was successful. But *Buddhism* was taking rapid strides towards its own success. The result was that not long after *Jaloka* had to make peace with the *Buddhists* and built a monastery for them, which he had once destroyed. During the reign of *Kanishka*, "*Buddhism flourished in Kashmir and during his long reign Buddhist hermits were all-powerful in the country and the Buddhist religion prevailed without opposition.*" The great *Nagarjuna* said to be a *Bodhisatva* and described as one of the greatest philosophers of *India* lived in *Kashmir* during *Kanishka's* reign. It was during this period that *Kanishka* organized the great *Buddhist Council*, which was presided over by two eminent scholars of the day—*Asvaghosha* and *Vasumitra*. The *Council* was held at *Kanishkapura* in *Kashmir* and was attended by 500 monks from all over *India*. During *Abhimanu's* reign who succeeded *Kanishka*,

Nagarjuna made converts to Buddhism and defeated the *Brahmans* in discussion and argument. Civil war soon followed and the brahmans in alliance with a local tribe named *Nagas* inglicted death, disaster and other untold miseries upon the *Buddhists*. *Chandracharaya*, a renowned grammarian of *Kashmir*, led the *Brahmanical* side on the dialectical plane. In spite of the *Brahman* opposition, *Buddhism* did not lose its hold on men's minds. Under its influence, *Kashmir* produced scholars of very great renown who carried *Buddhism* far and wide. *Kumarajiva* a great *Kashmiri* scholar went during the regime of the later *Chin* dynasty (A.D.384-417) to *China* with the message of *Buddha* and gained a title of great honour from the *Chinese* savants. He is referred to in *China* as "one of the four sons of *Buddhism*" and is "credited with the introduction of a new alphabet. There are other *Kashmiri Buddhist* missionaries mentioned such as *Shakyashri Badhra* (405 A.D.) *Rathavera*, *Shama Bhatta* etc. who went to *China* and *Tibet* to preach *Buddhism* there. *Brahmans* at last regained their supermacy, though gradually. During the reign of *Nara I* "thousands of monasteries were burnt, and thousands of villages that supported those monastries were given over to the *Brahmans*." *Brahmans* having succeeded in establishing their supremacy set themselves in right earnest in strengthening themselves and their position. Many superstitious observances and practices were invented. Thought and culture were denied to everybody excepting themselves and the modern *Hinduism in Kashmir* began its growth. But this degraded the *Brahmans* themselves. During *Mihirkula's* reign many shameless practices are ascribed to them.

Gopaditya, sixth in line after *Mahirkula*, expelled from the country those *Brahmans* who had taken to

irreligious and immoral practices and in their stead many *Brahmans* were invited from foreign countries. *Brahmanism* regained its supremacy completely. During *Meghavahna's* rule, *Buddhism* succeeded in regaining some of its former glory. But it was no better than the last flicker of a fading flame.

Thus ends the first phase, i.e., the struggle between *Buddhism* and *Brahmanism* in the history of..

II

With the establishment of the *Karkuta* dynasty (627 A.D.) we arrive at a period of comparative historical authenticity. It was during this period that the *Chinese* savant *Huentsang* came on a pilgrimage to *Kashmir*. *Buddhism* was then in a condition of decay in *Kashmir* as becomes evident from his remark "that the kingdom is not much given to faith and the temples of the heretics are their sole concern." But to the learning of the priest class he pays a glowing tribute when he says that "the country from remote times was distinguished for learning and their priests were all of high religious merit and conspicuous virtue, as well as marked talent and power of clear exposition of doctrine and though the priests of other nations were in their own way distinguished, yet they could not be compared with them so different were they from the ordinary class."

The most important king of the *Karkuta* dynasty was *Lalitaditya Muktapida* (697 A.D. to 733 A.D.) During his reign *Kashmir* reached the highest peak of military glory. He led successful military expeditions in the south as

far as *Kanauj* wherefrom he was accompanied back by the great poet *Bhavabhuti* and held sway over a major portion of the *Punjab* in the south and *Baltistan* in the north. The successful military expeditions are borne out by a letter written in 712 A.D. by *Dahar*, the *King of Sindh to Muhammad Bin Qasim*, the first *Muslim* invader in which we come across with the following passage : "If I had sent against you the *King of Kashmir* on whose threshold the other rulers of *Hindu* had placed their heads, who sways the whole of *Hind*, even the countries of *Makran* and *Turan*...."

The *King of Kashmir* referred to in the letter is no other than *Lalitaditya*. He sent an embassy to *China* which was very well received there. He was a great builder. The world famous *Martanda* temple ruins bear eloquent testimony to his love of building and the gigantic irrigation schemes which he inaugurated added very greatly to the cultivable area of the country. It appears that a feudal class had come into existence during these days. Its growth was distasteful for *Lalitaditya* and the instructions that he sent to his Government from an expedition in the north are so interesting that no apology is sought for quoting them here in extensor :

"The people who dwell in mountains should every year be punished without fault for if they get money and fortify themselves they will turn out formidable. Every care should be taken that there should not remain more food supply than is required for one year's consumption nor more oxen than are required for the tillage of their fields. Because if they come to possess more wealth they would become formidable *Damaras*, strong enough even to disregard the *King's Commands*."

Further he impresses upon them that

“ When the villagers have clothes, wives, eatables, ornaments, elephants, horses and houses like the citizens...when soldiers are raised from one district only, when Government officials establish marriage alliances with each other, then you should know that the lot of the people turns worse.”

From the above it becomes abundantly clear that *Lalitaditya* looked with very great abhorrence upon the growth of a powerful class amongst the rural population. A powerful challenging feudal class being in existence he wanted to break its power by all the possible means at his disposal. The conquests of *Lalitaditya* brought *Kashmir* nearer to the external world and must have given rise to a rich commercial class generally residing in cities and towns. Towards this class he exhibited a great deal of partiality, for it must have been they who supplied him with finances to conduct his warfare. So great was his revulsion against agricultural population that he exhorts his Government that not more than one year's rations should be allowed to remain with the villagers for fear lest they should become formidable *Damaras*.

But who are these *Damaras* who are often mentioned in the annals of *Kashmir*. For long the various Indologists held that the *Damaras* were a turbulent tribe who inhabited the northern districts of *Kashmir*, but the consensus of authoritative opinion borne out by the *Kashmir* annals themselves is that the word “*Damara*” signified a feudal chief and did not connote a tribe, though in course of time this term was used as synonymous with a turbulent person or group of such persons. Thus it becomes clear that class struggle in the time of *Lalitaditya* had entered a new phase in the history of *Kashmir*, i.e., feudal or land owing classes versus the growing rich commercial

class. In his anxiety to support a growing commercial class, *Lalitaditya* seems to have lost all support of agricultural masses whom he suppressed lest they should become "*formidable Damaras*." He died while leading an expedition in the north and with his passing away the magnificent edifice of Government raised by him with so much exertion tumbled to pieces. A general disorder became now the order of the day excepting during the reign of *Jayapira* (764-795 A.D.). He was a great conqueror and lover of learning. *Katayana's* commentary of *Panini* was re-compiled. *Vasugupta*, the founder of *Shaiva* philosophy, belongs to this era; and so many other philosophers and poets of great renown. The *Chinese* pilgrim *Ou-K'ong* reached *Kashmir* during this period (759 A.D.). He took here his full vow as a regular monk. He stayed in *Kashmir* for about four years which time he spent in visiting holy places or studying *Sanskrit*. From his account it appears that *Buddhism* was still prominently existing if not flourishing. In this period we come across with *Kayastha* class who are described as king, financiers and advisers. Being the financiers of the king they naturally amassed huge political power. A struggle with *Brahmans* brought about the death of the king for his partiality towards this class. It is significant that any new class which sprang into prominence had to measure its strength with the *Brahmans*. The next eighty years have witnessed nothing but the installation and dethronement of puppet kings, risings of insurgent chieftains, and intrigues amongst rival cliques till we come across with another landmark in the history of *Kashmir*, the concession of *Avanti Varman* (855-883 A.D.) to the throne who is the founder of the *Utpala* dynasty. During his reign *Kashmir* witnessed an unprecedented economic prosperity. Agriculture flourished, and the

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industries, commerce and trade were in a thriving condition. Extensive drainage and irrigation schemes were undertaken, and the country was freed from the danger of floods. A low caste *Hindu*, *Suyya* by name, assisted him in all these beneficent projects. Culturally *Kashmir* witnessed great advancement. *Kayyatacharya*, *Somananda*, *Muktakantha Swamin*, *Shiva Swamin* and *Ananda Vardhana* and *Kallata*, great *Shaiva* philosophers and authors, flourished during this period. The feudal barons are seen becoming more powerful than ever before. *Dhanava Damara* seized a number of villages bequeathed to some temples. This *Damara* had an infantry of his own, and was so powerful that he refused to come in royal presence though sent for and when he came, he came under an armed escort. He was, however, killed for his over-beaming attitude under king's orders.

Awantivarman is the first *Vaishnavite* king of *Kashmir* and it is during his reign that temples were dedicated to *Vishnu*. He was succeeded by his son *Shankara Varman* (883-902 A.D.) who was an ambitious and oppressive ruler. He conquered the neighbouring principalities including *Gujarat* which was then under the rule of one *Alakhan*, who by his name appears to be a *Muslim*, though till then the *Muslims* had not set their foot in the *Punjab*. He led an expedition to *Kabul* also as we shall presently see. He founded the city of *Shankarpur* now known as *Pattan*, built two temples there and started a woollen industry and converted it into a market for selling and buying cattle. During the reign of *Shankara Varman* the struggle between the *Brahmans* and other castes such as *Kayasthas* reached its climax. The power of *Brahmans* was broken. The sacred character of their citadels was violated. Offerings which were made to temples, incense meant to be

burnt there and the villages bequeathed to them and the riches lying there were all appropriated by the king. He refused to talk in *Sanskrit*, and always used the language used by the people (*Apabramsha*). For this he is greatly blamed by the *Brahman* historians. But he encouraged industries, though at the same time he heavily taxed them. As against the industrialists, he treated the agricultural population with great scorn and for the first time in the history of *Kashmir* he introduced the institution of *Begar* (*forced labour from villagers*). The *Kayasthas* now became the dominant class who invented a number of taxes and allied themselves with the king. The *Brahmans* on their part have produced a huge mass of literature in which the *Kayasthas* have been reduced to a place of great scorn and reducible. With the death of *Shankaravarman*, general disorder set in which threw into prominence turbulent *Kashmiri* tribe, *Tantrins*. The *Tantrins* set up one king after another, according as they were bribed and courted until *Chakravarman* (922-933 A.D.) with the help of *Damaras* and *Ekangas* broke their power. When it is borne in mind that *Damaras* were the feudal barons and *Ekangas* the bodyguard of the king, the class character of the strife between them and the *Tantrins* who were common people representing popular upsurge and recently come into prominence can very easily be understood. But *Chakravarmana* was himself killed by some *Damaras*, and after sometime the *Utpala* dynasty ceased to exist and was replaced by the first *Lohara* dynasty.

During this period, though very much disturbed, by political vicissitudes, *Kashmir* was culturally quite alive. *Pradyumana Bhatta*, *Utpalacharya*, *Rama Kantha*, *Prajnarjuna*, *Lachaman Gupta* and *Mahadeva Bhatta* have made colossal contributions to *Shaivite* thought and some

of them have been given a very high place of honour amongst ancient *Indian* philosophers.

III

The *Lohara* dynasty occupies an important place in the history of *Kashmir*, for it was during this period that *Kashmir* came in contact with the *Muslim* conquerors of *India*. During the reign of *Sangram Raja* (1003-1028 A.D.) it is recorded that the "*Kashmirians* crossed the river *Toushi* and destroyed the detachment of soldiers sent by *Hammira* to reconnoiter. But though the *Kashmirians* were eager for the fight, the wise *Shahi* repeatedly advised them to talk shelter behind the rocks, but *Tunga* disregarded the advice. The general of the *Turshkas* was well-versed in the tactics of war, and brought out his army early in the morning. On this the army of *Tunga* dispersed." *Hammira* is the abbreviated form of *Amir-ul-Momini*, a title used by *Mahmud* of *Gazni* for himself, and the *Turshkas* of *Turks* is the name given by *Kalhana* to the *Muslims*. This passage clearly refers to the last resistance which was offered by *Trilochanpal* to *Mahmud* in which *Kashmir* also sent a detachment of troops. As a result of *Mahmud's* invasion the *Punjab* passed into *Muslim* hands, and most of the tribes on the borders of *Kashmir* embraced *Islam*. These people even after their conversion to *Islam*, continued to come to *Kashmir*. Some came as traders, some as tourists, and some came for proselytizing the new faith. Some of them settled in *Kashmir*, and made some converts as well. But upon the politics of the country, they did not make any deep impression, at least for the time being. *Sangram Raja* was succeeded by his son *Hari Raja* (1028 A.D.). In spite of the great anxiety exhibited by *Lalitaditya* to suppress them, the *Damaras* had by now amassed huge power and found

themselves in a position to flout the King's authority. We have seen that side by side with the feudal chiefs that had become powerful enough during *Lalitadiya's* reign and which necessitated that ruler to adopt extraordinary measures for their suppression, a class of industrialists had also sprung into existence, who received a special measure of encouragement from their rulers. The rulers in their warfare required financial support which was given to them by the industrial classes, and who as a result found greater markets available in the newly acquired territories. A struggle was therefore inevitable which took the shape of *Damaras* (feudal lords) versus the rulers. During the reign of *Ananta* (1028-1063 A.D.) the *Damaras* rose in rebellion, but were ruthlessly crushed by the King. The king defeated the *Raja of Chamba* through whose territories the road to *Eastern Punjab* passed, but failed in *Hazara* which connected *Kashmir* with *Western Punjab* and *Afghan* territory. After him came *Harsha* (1080-1101 A.D.). This prince who was a jumble of contraries, appears to have represented in himself the confusion of times. He was cruel and kind-hearted, liberal and greedy and cunning the thoughtless. But he was a great lover of learning and encouraged learned scholars from abroad to settle in *Kashmir*. The *Damaras* again rose in rebellion, but the king crushed them with great ruthlessness. But they soon made common cause with his two cousins, *Sushala* and *Uchchala* who rose in rebellion against the king. By his extravagance and other ill-advised expenditure, *Harsha* had weakened himself financially. To replenish his treasury, he embarked upon a policy of exorbitant taxation and even robbed the temples of their valuables. This naturally created a great deal of resentment amongst his subjects and his none-too-loyal officers. To meet such unforeseen contingencies, he

opened a new leaf" in the annals of *Kashmir*. Hitherto the kings of *Kashmir* relied solely upon their *Ekanga* and *Tantrin* soldiers. But *Harsha* enlisted *Muslims* and organized the army on a new model. Each group of hundred soldiers was placed under the charge of a *Muslim* commander thus making it impossible for his soldiers to hatch plots, or run away from the battlefield. From *Harsha*'s time onwards, the *Muslims* as a class appeared in the political field. For long did they keep themselves allied with the rulers of the country and helped them in maintaining themselves on their tottering thrones. Their fighting qualities and the royal patronage made the *Muslims* a powerful factor in the body politic. But it took them another two centuries before they became the masters of the country. During these two centuries, the *Hindu* rule lingered on more dead than alive, crippled and weakened by internecine strifes of the nobles and the restiveness of the upper classes and the resentment of the bulk of the population. After the fall of *Harsha*, *Uchchala* (1101-1111 A.D.) mourned the throne with the help of the *Damaras*. He fell out with them soon probably because he could not fulfil their extravagant demands and dealt a crushing blow to them. In the reign of *Sushala* (1111-1228) who followed *Uchchala* the *Damaras* again rose in rebellion. They attacked and plundered the city of *Srinagar* and reduced the king to such a plight that he had to flee for his life to *Poonch*. *Biskhshachara*, a distant cousin of *Sushala* was selected for the kingship by the rebellion nobles. He was in constant fear of *Sushala* and was very suspicious even of his supporters. He organized a cavalry force manned mainly by the *Muslims*. *Kalhana* records the brag of this force in the following words : "Every individual *Turshka* (*Muslim* soldier) showed a record and said that he would

bind and drag *Sushala* with it." But records the historian *Kalhana*, "The *Turshka* soldiers dropped their ropes in fear and were destroyed by *Sushala* in a short time. The *Turkshas* gone, *Bikhshachara* was defeated and *Sushala* again became the king." He was followed by *Jai Singh* (1128-1155 A.D.). During his reign there was general disorder created by rebellions of warring chiefs, but the king could cope with it and even defeated a detachment of foreign troops which were about to raid the country. His successors were either weaklings or idiots, unworthy of the kingly duties they were called to discharge. Another tribe known as *Lavanyas* now come into prominence. During the reign of *Gopadeva* (1171-1180 A.D.) the *Brahmans* gained a great deal of supremacy, but were thwarted by the *Lavanyas* who sided with the king. During the reign of *Rama-deva* (1252-1273 A.D.) some *Bhattas* (*Brahmans*) who had helped in his investiture as king, having been insulted by him, conspired to install somebody from amongst *Khashas* on the throne of *Kashmir*. But their conspiracy did not long remain a secret and an orgy of destruction and plunder was let loose upon them. Some were killed and others suppressed with atrocious mercilessness, and to save themselves the cry was raised everywhere 'Na Batoham,.....' "I am not *Bhatta*." This is the first onslaught recorded in history against the *Brahmans* of *Kashmir*. There is nothing very important amongst his successors except that intrigue and insurgency and civil war went on unabated. The whole polity was undermined by internecine deadly struggle and it did not take much time for a crisis to develop which ended the ancient *Hindu* rule for all time.

IV

Kashmir though cut off by impregnable mountains barriers from the rest of world had always very deep cultural and political relations with her neighbors. She had her diplomatic relations with *China* and other countries in the north. *I Lalitaditya* led his armies as far as *Gobi* desert in the north. For long the exploits of *Lalitaditya* which have been narrated in the *Raj Tarangni* quite in detail were treated by scholars as a mere figment of the imagination of *Kalhana*, but *Sindh* ruler *Dahara's* letter to *Bin Qasim* to which reference has been made earlier has set at rest all the controversy on this score. *Dahar's* letter finds its place in *Chhachhinama* which is an account of the war between *Dahar* and *Bin Qasim* given by an Arab eye witness. The nearest *Hindu Kingdom* to *Kashmir* was that of *Kabul*. With *Kabul*, *Kashmir* was tied with bonds of religion, but she had also political relations with her which lasted for a number of centuries as will be presently seen. Reference may in this behalf be made to *Alberuni* an Arab scholar who came to *India* with *Mahmud* of *Gazni* in the beginning of 11th century and stayed on in *India* for a number of years. *Alberuni* has left a book on *India* in which he has given with great scholarly precision on account of the social, political and economic conditions of the then *India*. *Alberuni* writes that "the *Hindus* had kings residing in *Kabul*....The last king of this race (*Kshatriya*) was *Lagutarman* and his wazir was *Kallar*, a *Brahman*. *Lagutarman* had bad manners and worse behaviour, so the *Vazier* put him in chains and occupied the royal throne. After him ruled *Brahman* kings named *Samand*, *Kamalu*, *Bhim*, *Jaipal*, *Anandpal* and *Tarojanpal* (*Trilochanpal*).” Out of the seven *Brahman* kings of *Kabul*

mentioned by *Alberuni*, we find mention of four in *Kalhana's Raj Tarangni* with this difference that *Kalhana* calls the first king *Lalliya* and not as *Kallar* as *Alberuni* calls him, the other three being *Kamaluka*, *Bhima* and *Trilochanpal*. *Kalhana* wrote his history in 1148 A.D. about 125 years after the fall of *Trilochanpal*, who according to *Alberuni* was killed in 1021 A.D. There is one thing very interesting about the *Hindu Kings of Kabul*, and that is they were known as *Shahs* and their dynasty as *Hindu Shahis of Kabul*.

About the time when *Lalliya*, the *Brahman Vazier* of the last *Kshatriya King*, usurped the throne of *Kabul*, there reigned in *Kashmir* a strong ruler by name *Shankara Varman*. His reign lasted from 883 A.D. to 902 A.D. *Shankara Varman* was as noticed earlier a sagacious ruler, who made his country great, both militarily and economically. He started many industries and greatly encouraged trade and commerce though he is described also as an oppressive ruler whose exaction from the people as taxes were exorbitant. One thing very important about him was that he established a direct relation with the common people and talked their language instead of Sanskrit. For all this he is very much criticized and taunted by *Kalhana*, the *Brahman* author of *Rajtarangni*. But by such methods he must have secured a substantial backing from his people. Whether it was for securing markets for the articles of *Kashmir* manufacture or simply to win military glory, *Shankara Varman* went out of *Kashmir* at the head of a military expedition, and conquered all the neighbouring principalities including *Gujarat* which was according to *Rajtarangni* ruled under the over-lordship of *Kabul* by a king named *Ala Khan*. *Lalliya*, the *Brahman* ruler of *Kabul*, came to the help of his vassal, *Ala Khan*,

but was defeated and driven out of his own country. The easy victory which the *Kashmir* ruler *Shankara Varman* achieved over *Lalliya* has to be attributed to the fact that *Lalliya* was a usurper with no title to the throne and had therefore struck no deep roots in men's minds and consequently must have received very little help from the people. But the occupation of *Kabul* by an outsider stirred the patriotism of the people of *Kabul* and resistance movement was the result. The people of *Kabul* were then, as they are now, very patriotic and seldom brooked interference from outside. They fought Arabs and other *Muslim* rulers from 663 A.D. to 1021 A.D. but never accepted their suzerainty. Every student of history knows that during this period of about four hundred years *India* remained safe from any intrusions or invasions from the North-west. The occupation of *Kabul* by *Shankara Varman* only led to a grim struggle which reached its climax during the reign of *Gopal Varman* (902 to 904 A.D.) who succeeded *Shankara Varman* : and another military expedition was sent by the *Kashmir* ruler under a General by name *Prabhakar Deva* to restore order and tighten the grip. The *Kashmir* General though successful did not press his victory too far. He had realized by his experience that the people of *Kabul* could not be kept for long under subjection. He started negotiations with them and agreed to install *Lalliya's* son by name *Toramana* on the *Kabul* throne. This was done and *Toramana* ascended the *Kabul* throne though under a new name or title, *Kamluka*, which was given to him by *Prabhakar Deva*. As already seen, *Alberuni* in his list of *Kabul* kings describes him as *Kamlu*. Henceforth the relations between *Kabul* and *Kashmir* became very cordial and in course of time marriage relations came to be established between the ruling

dynasties of the two countries which further strengthened the mutual bonds of amity and concord. *Kshema Gupta* who ruled *Kashmir* from 951-959 A.D. married the grand daughter of *Bhima* who is described by *Alberuni* as the fourth *Brahman King* to rule *Kabul* after *Lalliya*. We have it on the authority of *Kalhana* that this *Kabul King Bhima* came to *Kashmir* and stayed there for sometime and built a temple dedicated to *Vishnu* would show that the *Hindu Shahis* of *Kabul* were *Vaishnavites* and not *Bhuddhists* as some take pleasure in describing them as such. The temple of *Bhima Keshava* is even now existing in a village now known as *Bumzu* near *Mattan*, though as a *Muslim Ziarat*, and is now known as *Ziarat Bam Din Sahib*.

The name of *Bhima's* grand daughter was *Didda* who ruled *Kashmir* after his husband's death as sole sovereign from 980 A.D. to 1003 A.D. She appointed her brother's son *Sangrama Raj* as heir to the throne. By now the *Turkish* king, *Subaktagin*, had occupied *Ghazni* and *Kabul Shahis* came face to face with a rising power which within a short period liquidated the *Hindu Shahi* rule at *Kabul*. But the struggle was grim and a stout resistance was offered both by *Jaipal* and his son *Anandapal* and his grandson *Trilochanpal*. It may be that *Kashmir* also participated in these wars, as *Queen Didda of Kashmir* was closely related to *Jaipal*, son of *Bhima*. But *Rajtarangini* is silent on that. But to the final resistance which was organized by the final resistance which was organised by the last *Shahi King*, *Trilochanpal*, *Kashmir* also made her contribution. This time *Sangram Raj*, (1003-1028 A.D.) *Diddas' son*, was on the *Kashmir* throne. The *Kashmir* ruler sent a well-equipped force under a Minister by name *Tunga*. But unfortunately the methods of warfare of *Tunga* and *Trilochanpal* were different. *Trilochanpal* was in

favour of using the traditional *Kabul* methods of warfare which consisted of retiring into mountain fastness and therefrom start depredations on the enemy, cutting his line of communications and harassing his rear. *Trilochanpal* counseled the adoption of such methods. But the *Kashmir* General who was both vain and inglorious did not heed the advice and came down to the plains and engaged in battle with *Mahmud*. *Kalhana* gives a graphic description of this battle. Says he that *Trilochanpal* and some *Kashmiris* of royal blood fought very bravely, but the chances of victory, thanks to the tactical blunder made by *Tunga* receded back very far. The last resistance movement on the *Kabul* soil was finally crushed. The defeat of *Trilochanpal* had very far reaching effects.

The *Punjab* fell an easy victim to *Mahmud* who occupied it as a Province. The whole of *Indian* now lay bare before any invader who might have chosen to creep in, though far another two centuries no serious invasion was either planned or made.

After the fall of *Trilochanpal*, his sons, *Rudrapal*, *Diddapal*, *Kshempasa* and *Anangpala* went to *Kashmir* and settled there under royal patronage. Here also they distinguished themselves by their deeds of valour. Not long after they had settled in *Kashmir*, that the country was attacked by some warlike tribes from the north. All the four *Pal* brothers took part in the defence of *Kashmir* and distinguished themselves by their acts of bravery. Thereafter nothing is heard about the descendants of *Trilochanpal*, excepting that *Harsha*, a *Kashmir* king, was involved in a civil war and one of his *Ranis* who was connected with *Trilochanpal*, distinguished herself in actual warfare. What type of kings were these great

Brahman Shahi rulers of *Kabul* becomes clear from a remark of *Alberuni* who says that :

“The *Hindu Shahiya* dynasty is extinct and of the whole house there is not the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing.” *Kalhana* in his *Raj Tarangini* expresses grief over the fall of *Trilochanpal* in the following pathetic words :

“We have described the prosperity of the *Shahi* country during the days of *Shankara Varman*. No we think in our minds with great grief, where is the *Shahi* dynasty with its ministers, its kings, its great grandeur? Did it exist really or did it not? *Tunga* returned to his own country *Kashmir*, totally defeated and left the whole *Bharata* land open to the descent of the *Turshkas*.”

He further expresses his anguish in these words :

“*The very name of the splendour of Shahi kings has vanished. What even our imaginatios cannot conceive, that destiny accomplishes with ease.*”

CHAPTER XI

EARLY HINDUS AND BUDDHISTS

BY

G.L. KAUL

History is always continuous. There can be no fresh start. The real history of *Kashmir* begins probably from five thousand years before Christ. It is said that *Sri Ram Chandra*; the conqueror of *Lanka*, was the first king who established a kingdom in *Kashmir* but there is no authentic evidence in proof of this though various shrines named after him exist to this day. For about six hundred and thirty-three years *Dayakaran* and his fifty-five successors are said to have ruled in *Kashmir*. *Somdatta* was probably last of the line.

The *Rajtarangini* opens with the name of the glorious king of *Kashmir*, *Gonanda I*, 'worshipped by the religion which *Kailasa* lights up and which the tossing *Ganga* clothes with a soft garment' who came to the throne of *Kashmir* in about 3121 B.C. *Kalhana* disputes it. He maintains that *Gonanda* became king in 2448 B.C. (653 Kali). *Professor Wilson* places him on the throne in about 1400 B.C. Some suggest 1710 B.C. as the probable date while others are of opinion that he flourished about twenty years before the *Mahabharata*.

Gonanda was relative of *Raja Jarasand* who gave a battle to *Lord Krishna*. *Gonanda* went to his succor but was assassinated near about *Mathura*.

Gonanda I was succeeded by his son *Damodara I*. He also waged war against *Krishna* during the *Svayamvara* celebrations of *Raja Gandhar*'s daughter but was killed. *Sri Krishna* then gave the throne to his pregnant wife (*Yasovati* was her name) and when the posthumous child was born he was named *Gonanda II*. It was during his reign that the *Mahabharata* was fought. Being a mere boy he was not invited by any party. During his reign there came one *Hardev*, a descendant of the *Pandus*, to *Kashmir*. He was very poor. The king took pity on him and offered him a job in his service. *Hardev* became such a great favourite of the king that he was soon made the *Dewan*. One day he seized an opportunity and made an end of the king. It may be noted here that the contemporaries of the *Kurus* and the *Pandus* have not been recorded which shakes the historical background a little.

Thirty-five kings followed. *Raja Ramdev* in the line is said to have built the temple at *Mattan* an about 3007 B.C. *Ramdev* was a great monarch who defeated five hundred kings in wars. His kingdom extended as far as the *Bay of Bengal*. He took one-tenth of the land produce as his revenue. Another king named *Lava* is said to have built the city of *Lolara (Lolav)*. The city is stated to have contained eighty-four lacs of stone buildings. Then followed *Kusha* and *Surendra*. *Kusha* built *Kurushara*. *Surendra* founded the town *Soraka* and also built *Khara-Narendra Bhawana*. *Raja Sudarsen* was the twentieth king descended from *Hardev*. During this time there broke out a big earthquake which caused a heavy loss to the country. After many years the kingdom fell into the hands of *Wazir Bamro* who snatched it from one *Prahlad*. This *Wazir Bamro* fell in love with a woman named *Lolare* and there is a love song in *Kashmiri* called *Lolare-Bamro* which describes the

romantic adventures of the couple. *Praversen*, last of the line, founded the city of *Srinagar*. *Godara*, scion of another family, is also mentioned to have occupied the throne. His son *Swarna* known as "giver of gold" was a munificent monarch. After him we come across *Janaka*, *Sacinara* and *Asoka*. It was *Asoka* who first embraced the doctrine of *Jina*.

According to various accounts *Ogyges* or *Ogbuz*, the *Scythian*, also invaded *Kashmir*. He was replused by *Prince Jaqub* of *Jammu*. *Ogyges* was forced to leave the country empty handed because he was a poor match against the assailant.

In 326 B.C. the king of *Kashmir* sent his brother to announce submission to *Alexander*. *Alexander* had advanced to the *Vitasta* (*Hydaspes*) and met the army of the king *Porus* who was promised assistance by the king of *Kashmir* in spite of the latter's submission to the *Macedonian*. But *Porus* was defeated.

Kashmir was not always what it appears to us today. It might have been a huge jungle or a rough mass of land which those early kings were destined to rule. The people lived in rude huts and icy cave, practising austerities and feeding upon herbs and wild plants. No trade facilities of today softened the labour of the people then. Each man had to provide for himself. Money was scarce. "*Exchange or Barter system*" prevailed everywhere. In spite of all these disadvantages which the modern man is quite unaware of, they have left to us a tradition "in simplicity sublime" which has surveyed centuries of unrest in the thought-realm influenced by exotic creeds, strange languages and foreign arts.

The kings who ruled in those days were themselves either scholars or patrons of learning. They administrated

justice according to dictates of *Dharama* (duty) enjoined by *Shastras*. They seldom had any lust for pillage. The *Brahmins* were highly honoured. Their statesmanship won them homage from all.

The question is- was the common man happy ? His needs were few and far between. Society molded him more for a spiritual life than for worldly pomp. But he had his say in the affairs of administration. Social injustice between man and woman, young and old, weak and strong was, however, noticeable.

II

Asoka surnamed "*The Pious*" conquered *Kashmir* in about 250 B.C. and with him also came *Buddhism*. Some argue that *Buddhism* came to *Kashmir* in the time of King *Surendra*, ahead of *Asoka*. *Khonamoh* near *Pampore* was an endowment created by his father *Khangendra*. *Surendra* built a vihara in the city of *Samaka* corresponding to *Suru* beyond the *Zojila Pass*. This was known as *Narendra Bhavana*. Another was built at *Samasa* corresponding to *Sowur* on the shore of *Anchar Lake*. *Janaka* built a vihara at *Jalora* corresponding to *Zohur* in *Zainagir*. Some believe that *Asoka* of *Kashmir* was different from *Asoka* of *Indian* fame. But this view has not been accepted by scholars. He had four sons though *Kalhana* mentions only *Jaluka*. The *Empire* was divided among the four sons and *Jaluka* got *Kashmir*. According to *Kalhana*, *Asoka* exterminated *mlecchas*, root and branch. *Srinagar* and *Dharamaravya Vihara*, the top of which could not be seen by the human eye, so high it was, are attributed to *Asoka*. However, the *State* religion did not draw to itself many followers from

the populace as the land was under the sway of the learned *Brahmins* whose fame for scholarship in the *Sanskrit* lore had travelled to the distant parts of *Hindustan*, *Tibet*, *China*, *Java* and *Japan*. Low caste *Hindus* alone presumably adopted the new faith. It is recorded that *Asoka* sent *Majjhantika* (thereat as missionary) to *Kashmir* who converted about 80,000 people. There is mention of about 500 *Buddhist Monasteries* in *Kashmir* in his time. "He gave up all in *Kashmir* for the benefit of the *Buddhist Church*." During *Asoka's* regime peace reigned supreme in the country. He had his capital near about the present *Pandrethan*. This town was destroyed by fire about the end of the tenth century A.D. Only the old temple which then, as now, stood in water escaped the flames.

Some say that *Kashmir* passed into *Asoka's* hands on the death of *Sacinara* who was issue's. Saffron cultivation was introduced in his time. The *Siva* temple at the shrine of *Vijayeshvara* (*Bijbihara*) is also attributed to him.

Asoka was succeeded by his son *Jaluka* in about 220 B.C. *Jaluka* was a great worshipper of *Siva*, the third of the *Hindu Trinity*, and *Avadhuta* was his principal instructor.

There is a legend according to which he possessed a magical substance which could transform baser metals into gold. He routed the *mlecchas* badly. He conquered *Kanayakubja* and his kingdom extended as far as *Kanauj* and *Kandhar*. About him it is said that he used to go to *Wangat* and bathe there in the spring every morning. One day he was too late. The deity felt compassion for him and so willed that another spring arose in the city called *Sahodra* (born of the same parents). Thus was he saved of the great trouble of making a long journey every day to the

holy spring. To test the identity of *Sahodara* he threw a golden cup in the original spring and this after two and a half days appeared in the spring at *Srinagar*. Such devotion is rare indeed. To quote another fable, *Kritya* once begged food and then human flesh which king *Jaluka* agreed to give from his own body. The temple on the top of *Shankaracharya* hill is attributed to him, but it lacks evidence.

After *Jaluka* we come across *Damodra II*. He constructed a long cam called *Gudsetu*. It is said that once some *Brahmins* asked the king for food but he requested them to wait till he would bathe. The *Brahmins* were offended and they at once pronounced a curse which turned the poor king into a serpent. This legend is known as the legend of '*Damodara Suda*.'

The *Brahmins* of *Kashmir* had become great admirers of *Buddhism*. Some became its missionaries and went far and wide to preach the new faith to the people. *Shak Yashri Bhadia* went to *China* to preach the gospel of *Buddha* there. *Ratanjira* went to *Bodh Gaya*, *Udyana* and *Tibet* to spread the new doctrine there. *Arhat Madhyantika* roamed throughout *Kashmir* and acquainted the people with *Buddhism* and its founder. But in spite of this the new faith did not take roots in the soil.

From about 150-100 B.C. *Kashmir* was under the subjection of *Tartar Chiefs*. They were immediately followed by the *Indo-Scythian* kings. They subdued *Kashmir* when the *Romans* were conquering *Britain* and *Buddhism* was spreading in *China*. *Hushka* to whom the date 125 A.D. is assigned founded *Aushkar* (*Hushkapur*) and went his way. Then appeared *Jushka* on the scene (185 A.D.). He established himself at *Zakar* (*Jushkapur*) and passed away in 225 A.D. The most notable figure of these

was *Kanishka* (the *Kusan* king of *Gandhara*) to whom the date 120-160 A.D. had been assigned although this must be accepted with hesitation. Many authorities assign to *Kanishka's* accession the date 58-57 B.C. *Kanishka* founded the city of *Kanushpur* (*Kanishkapura*). His empire extended on both sides of the *Hindukush*, the *Pamirs* and the *Karakorum* range. In *Kashmir*, he held the famous third great Council of the *Church* which drew up the '*Northern Canon*' or *Greater Vehicle of Law*.' He was a great *Buddhist* monarch and in his time a famous *Buddhist* named *Nagarjuna* lived at *Harwan* (*Sundrahvava*). *Kanishka's* death was tragical, as the story says, and he was smothered with a quilt. *Abhimanyu* built the town of *Abhimanyapura*. In time *Chandracarya* introduced the *Mahabasyha*. *Kashmir* witnessed heavy snowfall and it was only averted by the intervention of *Nilanag*. *Gonanda III* was a great enemy of *Buddhism* who patronised *Nilamatpurana*. *Nara* was a wicked monarch, *Buddhism* received a death-blow at his hands. He also destroyed the town near *Vijayeswara*. *Hiranayaska* founded *Hiranyapura* at the entrance of the *Sindh Valley*.

The white huns began their raids on *Kashmir* in the first half of the sixth century when *England* was under the *Saxons*. *Vasukula*, son of *Mihirakula*, the *Indian Niro*, came to power in about 515 A.D. His kingdom extended from *Kabul* valley to central *India*. According to some he got *Kashmir* in 530 A.D. Perhaps he recovered his lost dominions between 544-550 A.D. From other sources we learn that he succeeded his father *Toramana* in 510 A.D. and reigned at *Sakala* (*Sialkot*) over his *Indian* territories. There is some confusion that *Mihirakula*, son of *Vasakula* and *Mihirakula*, son of *Toramana*, could not be one and the same person. An *Indian* confederacy led by *Narasimha*

defeated *Mihirakula* in about 523 and took him prisoner. He was sent out of *India* and a younger brother seized his kingdom at *Sakala*. He was befriended by a king of *Kashmir* whom he afterwards dethroned and thus obtained possession of the kingdom of *Gandhara*. *Mihirakula* showed leanings towards the *Shaiva* cult. He was the worst type of a king. In his time tyranny was the order of the day. His principal hobby was slaughter. The people were very badly off. They were treated as worse than beasts.

It is said that he seldom laughed. Once he was seated on the window of his palace when all of a sudden a huge elephant tumbled down from the top of a neighbouring hill. On seeing the fall he smiled and this was the first and the last smile of his life. This story may or may not be true but this is corroborated that he once caused destruction of a hundred elephants on the *Pass of Pir Panchal*.

Mihirakula's son, *Baka* was a virtuous man. *Vasunanda* wrote a handbook on erotic. After *Nara II* came *Aksa* who founded *Aksanala*. *Gopaditya* the Good was a great builder. He founded *agrarahas* and built the temples of *Lyesthesvara* and *Sankaracharya*.

Gopaditya's successor *Gokarna* founded the shrine of *Shiva*, *Gokaraneshwara*. *Adhistra I*, ended the first *Gonanda* dynasty. He was a cruel king. *Rebellions* forced him to abandon his kingdom. *Pratapaditya I*, a relative of *Harsha Vikramaditya*, ascended the throne at the request of the disgruntled Ministers. During the reign of *Tunjina I*, a great famine broke out. *Tunjina* was a magnificent king. *Kavi Chandaka* flourished during his reign. *Vijaya* founded the town of *Vijayashwara*. it was through the magic of witches that *Sandhimati*, a wise Minister, is credited to have been brought back to life. *Sandhimati Aryaraja* ruled

piously for about forty-seven years. The disaffection among his subjects, caused by earlier misrule, however, obliged him to abdicate. he died as a recluse at *Siva Bhutesa*. The throne was then offered to *Meghvahana*, son of *Gopaditya*. He was both strong and pious. *Meghvahana* proved to be a great patron of *Buddhism*. He subjugated *Vibhishana* of *Ceylon* during '*Digvijay*' (conquest of the world). *Meghvahana*'s son *Sresthasena* built a number of temples at *Pandrethan*. *Tormana* was thrown into captivity for striking coins in his own name as *Yuvaraja*. Then followed *Matrigupta*. *Vikramaditya* of *Ujjain* despatched this poet with a letter. He did not know what the letter contained. At the frontier pass he was surprised to see himself received by the people's representatives. He was a kind ruler. He maintained peace and won goodwill of his subjects. After a reign of about five years he abdicated in favour of *Pravarsena II* and later on died at *Banaras* as a recluse. *Pravarsena* heard of *Vikramaditya*'s death and *Matrigupta*'s abdication on his way at *Kangara*. He conquered *Gujarat* and founded *Prayarapura*. *Yudhisthira II*, built viharas and buildings everywhere. It is mentioned that *Ranaditya* ruled for a period of three hundred years. His queen *Ranasambha* was noble and pious. *Baladitya* was last of *Gonanda*'s race. He married his daughter to one *Durlabhavardhana*, a small official, who proved to be a descendant of *Nagarkarkote* and the throne finally passed into his hands.

Durlabhavardhana ruled for sixty-three years. The date of his accession is given by some writers as 598 A.D. and by others as 627 and 602 A.D. His dynasty is called *Karkotaka* dynasty, because it was protected by the mythical serpent *Karkotaka* mentioned in the *Mahabharata*. During his reign *Huien Tsang*, a *Chinese*

pilgrim who visited *India* in 631-633 A.D. came to *Kashmir* via *Hashkapura* (*Hazara*) and made remarkable enquiries about the country and its people. He says that the people were handsome and well instructed. Being a *Buddhist*, he was against idolatry and he writes: "This is not much given to the faith, and the temples of the heretics are their sole thought." Elsewhere he says that the people are weak, pusillanimous and cunning. *Durlabhavaridhana* appears to have extended his kingdom by conquering *Taxila*, *Sinhapura* and *Urasa*. His son *Pratapaditya* (*Durlabhaka*) ruled for fifty years. He built *Pratapapur* and married *Narendraprabha* (*Prakasadevi*), the wife of a foreign merchant. He was a most meritorious king and *Kalhana* tells us many stories of his justice and solicitude for the welfare of his people. In 631 A.D. *Prunts* (*Poonch*) and *Rajouri* were subject to the king of *Kashmir*.

Chandrapida, his-son, ruled for nine years. He was a just king who built many shrines but his death was brought about by witchcraft. He was followed by his brother, *Tabida*, who ruled for four years only. He was very cruel and he was succeeded by his brother, *Lalituditya Muktapida* (699-700-736 A.D.). He was a contemporary of *Charlemagne the Great* iwas a great monarch. He subjugated the *Punjab*, *Kanauj*, *Tibet*, *Badakshan* and *Peking* and returned to *Kashmir* after twelve years of conquest abroad with the poet *Bhavabhuti* in his custody whom he afterwards made his poet *Laureate*. About this time *Kashmir* had embassies in *China*. In a letter written in 712 A.D. addressed by *Babar* to *Mohammad Kasim* occurs the following passage : "If I had said against you, the king of *Kashmir* on whose Royal threshold the *Kother* rulers of *Hind* had placed their heads, who sways the whole of *Hind*, even the countries of *Makran* and *Turan*, whose chains a

great many noblemen and grandees have willingly placed on their knees and against whom no human being can stand." Again *Al' Beruni* remarks, "The second of *Chaitra* is a great festival day in *Kashmir* in honour of Victory of its king over the Turks." He built the temple of *Martand* (dedicated to the Sun) with a great uncut stone wall and the town of *Parihaspur* (*Shadipur*) where also he raised a mighty column. Besides, he dug numerous fine canals and reclaimed waste lands but he did not allow more grain to be kept by cultivators than what they required for a year. There was however, the corresponding obligation to feed the cultivator and his family when enough grain was not forthcoming on account of adverse agricultural season. This view has the support of *Mr. V.N. Mehta I.C.S.* (refer to the twentieth century for November, 1934). So generous was he that he ordered a large cauldron to be constructed from which 100,000 persons could be daily fed. *Kalhana* says that the wealth offered and dedicated to temples could not be counted. He also sent a mission to *China* of mention is found in the *Chinese* annals. Though a *Hindu*, he was sympathetic to *Bhuddhism* and built a *Monastery* and *Stupa* at *Hushkapur*. *Rashness* was his only vice. In a fit of drunken madness he ordered *Pravarsena's* beautiful city to be fired and he laughed as he watched the flames. According to another version his wise *Ministers* managed to save the city by putting a huge pyre of dry hay on fire instead. The king thought that the city was bunt.

He again left for *Turkistan* where he died after a reign of seven years. His sons brought no credit to their father. They survived for sometime and disappeared.

On-Kong (759-763 A.D.) another *Chinese* pilgrim, visited *Hindustan* in 759 A.D. He gives a memorable account of the land of *Kashyapa* and its people. During his

visit anarchy prevailed. Might was right and all was chaos and confusion. *On-Kong* says *Buddhism* was nevertheless in flourishing condition. He stayed at *Pandrethan* (*Bavarapura*).

Jayapida's reign began in 746 A.D. and ended in 795 (782) A.D. According to some, he ruled from 779 to 808 A.D. For conquests abroad he marched out with a huge army and 80,000 litters. The kings of *Ganda* took to heels before him. By his personal prowess he married *Kalyanadevi* (or *Kamladevi*), daughter of *Jayanta* of *Bengal*, where he had gone in disguise. *Kanauj* fell at his mere appearance. On return he slew his brother-in-law *Jajja* who had usurped the throne during his absence. *Jayapida* (entitled *Vinayadita*) was a great patron of learning. He revived the study of *Mahabhashva*, the great work on grammar by *Patanjali* and so on. He built *Jayapura* at *Ancurkoth*. The *Naga Lord* of the *Mahapadma* (*Wohur*) showed him a copper mine for saving him from a sorcerer. The poet historian observes that equally divided between valour and learning, as if placed between two reflecting mirrors, the king seemed not doubled only but made hundredfold. Towards the end he exercised tyranny through his *Kayastha* officers (a title of mixed *Kshatras* whose caste occupation was writing and Government service). Fiscal exaction became the order of the day till at last he died as a result of the falling of his tent upon him. This incident, though ascribed to the curse of a *Brahmin*, may well have been the action of one of his disgruntled subjects.

There was not a township, no village, no river, no sea, no island where this king did not lay down a sacred foundation.

During the reign of the *Karkota* dynasty *Kashmir* enjoyed great power politically being twice the overlord of the whole of northern *India*. The kings were usually worshippers of *Shiva* or *Vishnu*. Under this dynasty *Kashmir* not only maintained but even increased its renown for learning. It was always an ambition of *Indian Pandits* to conquer the *Pandits* of *Kashmir*, as is evident from *Shankara's* visit to the temple of *Sarda*. The aborigines of *Kashmir* were called *Damaras*. The upper classes of the population were the three *Aryan Castes-Brahmins, Kshatriyas* and *Vaishyas*. The *Brahmins*, of course, were as a class, ministers of religion and Government officials. The *Sarda* character descended from a western variety of the *Gupta*, first appeared in about 800 A.D. in *Kashmir*, and the north-east *Punjab* and has maintained itself in *Kashmir* since.

Avantivarman (855-883/884 A.D.) who belonged to the *Utpala* dynasty flourished in the ninth century. He was the most sagacious king. He built temples at *Avantipura*, the place named after him since his time. His Minister, *Surya* also built *Harpur*. His court was proud of the two famous poets, *Ratnakara* and *Anandvardhana*. He was a staunch *Vaishnava*. During his reign the price of *Shali* (unhusked rice) fell from 200 to 36 *Dinnars* (the *Roman Dinnars*). It is about this period that we read of a great engineer, named *Suyya*, who drained the valley and reclaimed waste land. *Suyyapur* or *Sopore* commemorates his name even up to this day. When this great engineer was working at *Sopore* and no workers were forthcoming to plunge themselves into the rushing water, the king ordered that a part of the treasury may be thrown into the water, on seeing which the workers turned up. Thus was the great engineer's scheme worked out. *Avantivarman* died at *Tripuresa*. He

was succeeded by his son, *Shankaravarman* (883-902 A.D.). For sometime he was engaged in a civil war with his cousin *Sukhavarman*. He maintained an army of nine hundred thousand foot men, 300 elephants and one hundred thousand horses (total ten lakhs). He was a great conqueror and spent a lot of his time in submontane expeditions. But he was avaricious and often reviled in gambling and debauchery. Oppression and fiscal exactions were not rare. Forced labour was common. He went on an expedition to *Hazra* and in a sudden quarrel with its people a random arrow pierced his throat and he died on the way.

His son *Gopalavarman* (902-904 A.D.) ruled under the regency of his mother *Sugandha*. He was killed by the minister *Prabhakaradiva*.

Partha (906-921) A.D. came under the influence of *Tantrins* whom he paid heavy bribes. His reign witnessed the execution of *Sugandha*, a flood and a famine. The *Tantrins* deposed him in favour *Nirjitavarman* (921-923 A.D.).

His child son, *Cakravarman* (923-933) witnessed a revolution raised by the *Tantrins* in favour of his half-brother *Suravarman* I (933-934 A.D.). He was also deposed and *Partha* put in his place. *Partha* was again succeeded by *Cakravarman* in 935 A.D. *Sambhuvardhana* whom isold the crown got the throne in 935-936 A.D. The *Tantrins* were defeated by the *Damaras* atin 936 A.D. *Sambhuvardhana* was executed. The king proved very cruel. He married women of the despised *Dohma* caste and raised their relatives to high positions. The *Damaras* murdered him when he was reclining on the arms of his Queen. *Unmatavanti* (937-938 A.D.), son of *Partha*, was a cruel king. He destroyed all his relatives. *Partha* who was living on charity was also one day murdered by the king

who was his son. At last he died of consumption. *Suryavarman II* was crowned by *Unmatavanti* in the year 939 A.D. The commander-in-chief of the forces defeated the child-king but the *Brahmins* whose consent he wanted voted against him. *Yasadara* (939-948 A.D.), a *Brahmin*, was finally chosen for the crown. He had a great legal acumen and ruled mildly.

He constructed *Mathas* and started endowments for students and general public respectively. He chose *Varnala* as his successor. He died of poison at his *Matha*. His son *Kshemagupta* (950-958 A.D.) was very sensual and vicious. He built *Kshemagaurishwara*, out of plunder. *Kshemagupta* married *Didla*, daughter of a king of *Lohara*, named *Sinharaja* who possessed energy and political sagacity.

Queen Didla ruled from (980/81-1003 A.D.). She was the grand-daughter of *Bhima*, *Shahi* king of *Kabul*. On the death of her husband she is said to have removed all male scions from the family.

She had enough of diplomatic tact but she was fickle also. She raised *Tunga*, a herdsman, to high office who ultimately became the queen's paramour. An expedition against *Rajouri* was sent under the leadership of *Tunga*. She was succeeded by her nephew, *Sangramaraja* (1003-1028/29 A.D.), the founder of the *Lohara* dynasty in *Kashmir*. In his reign began the final conquest of *Hindustan* by the *Muslims*. *Tunga* who was at first popular became unpopular later. *Mahmud Ghazni's* invasions of *Kashmir* in 1015 and 1021 A.D. are the only important events of his reign. *Sangramaraja* sent some help to *Trilochanapala*, *Shahi* king of *Kabul*, against *Mahmud Ghazni*. The *Hindus* sustained a defeat in the battle fought by him in 1021 A.D. with the aid of *Kashmir* troops.

Trilochanapala fled from place to place and probably his son *Bhima* also whose end is recorded in 1027. But his other sons or cousins, *Rudrapala* and others, remained in *Kashmir* under the protection of *Sangramaraja* who was probably their relative. *Tunga* was at last murdered at the instigation of the king.

Next came *Anantadev* (1029-1039/1028-1063 A.D.). He married *Survamati*, the younger daughter of *Trigaria*, king of *Indracanda*. He was a weak administrator, but he had a wise counselor in his queen. They were ill-treated in their old age by their son and *Ananta* died in grief. The damaras under *Tribhauna* were routed. The king also beat back the *Dards* and the *Mlecchas*. The queen built the temple of *Sadasiva*. *Kashmir* had a busy trade with *India*. One *Haladhana* of very humble origin rose to the position of Prime Minister. The king abdicated in favour of his son. *Kalsha Dev*, (1039/1063-1089 A.D.) like so many of his line he also proved a weak king. There arose a conflict between *Ananta* and *Kalsha* in 1076 A.D. retired to *Vijayshwara* with the State treasury, *Kalsha* turned a vagabond, set fire to *Vijayshwara* and got hold of the treasury. *Ananta* was enraged and committed suicide in 1081 A.D. and died as a sati. This turned over a new leaf in the character of *Kalsha*. He helped *Sangramapala* of *Rajapuri*. With the help of *Vamana* and he consolidated his kingdom and improved internal administration. About eight rulers paid homage to him in 1087-88 A.D. Again he became licentious and died at *Martand* in 1089/1093 A.D. His son was an injudicious prince. He was thrown into a prison where he committed suicide. According to another version *Vijayshwara* raised a rebellion in favour of *Harsha* against *Utkarsa* who was defeated and killed in battle in 1089. *Harsha Dev's* reign

lasted from 1089-1101 A.D. (He is not the emperor *Harsha* who ruled in *India* from 606-647 A.D.). *Harsha* had a powerful frame. He was beautiful as well as courageous, but a bit self-willed. He was also a great patron of learning (science, music and art) and himself a scholar but greed, cunning and craft dominated his character. He was sometimes kind and liberal also. *Vijayshwara* fled to *Dardistan* where he was killed by an avalanche. Conquest of *Rajapuri* and changes in dress are two important factors of his reign. He executed his half-brother *Jayaraja* in 1095 A.D. and *Dhamata* with his four brave sons. He imposed oppressive taxes and demolished temples to meet the expenses of his pleasures. This is not all. He also committed acts of incest with his own relatives. The expedition against *Rajapuri* was not successful. In 1098 A.D., the king was defeated in an expedition against the *Dards* of i. The year 1099 A.D. witnessed plague, plunder, flood and famine. The persecution of *Damaras* had a severe effect. *Uccala* and *Sussala* fled in 1100 A.D. to *Rajapuri* and *Kalijnar* respectively. They both invaded but were repulsed. Their father, *Malla*, was mercilessly executed. The king's last days saw nothing but intrigues and rebellion. *Harsha* relentlessly persecuted the partisans of *Vijavamala* and misrule and oppression became so acute that *Uccala*, a collateral cousin, succeeded in leading a rebellion, defeating *Harsha* and taking possession of the capital. *Harsha's* queens burnt themselves in the palace while he himself took refuge in a *Matha*. His son, *Bhoja*, who had been expelled came to *Kashmir* to relieve him but was killed, was killed in a battle with i. *Harsha* finding everything going adverse, rushed upon the soldiers who had surrounded the *Matha* and was killed. *Kalhana's* father, *Canapaka*, alone remained faithful to the king.

Some maintain that he was cut off and burnt. This may be true but he died fighting like a hero and his death resembles that of the unfortunate *Dara Shikon* of *Moghal* history. Thus the first branch of the *Lohara Dynasty* ruled *Kashmir* for about a hundred years (1003-1101). His successor *Uccala* (1101-1111 A.D.) was a fairly energetic man.

The king put down rebellion with a strong hand by following the policy of 'divide and rule'. He ceded *Lohara* territory to *Sussala*. But he had his faults also. He was jealous of other's merits. (That he reigned from 1111 to 1122 A.D. is disputed). *Sussala* attempted an invasion but was repulsed. The king first brought up *Bhitsacara* (the grandson of *Harsha*), but then he had to take refuge in *Malva*. A conspiracy was formed against him by *Chudda* and his brothers and the poor fellow was murdered by the city perfect on the eight of December 1111 A.D. *Sussala* (1112-1120 A.D.) was cruel and harsh. He imprisoned *Salhana* and *Lothana*. *Garchandra*, the king-maker, was first humiliated and then murdered with his three sons and one brother-in-law in 1118 A.D. The *Damaras* rebelled and defeated the king often. They installed ibut he also proved sensual. Trade became dull and money scarce. *Sussala* (1121-1128 A.D.) again seized the throne. The civil war made the country very poor. (*JaYasinha* was nominally crowned but kept under surveillance). He entered into a secret pact with *Utpala*, the treacherous agent of *Tikka*- a powerful baron- which led to the murder of king in 1128 A.D. *JaYasinha* (1128-1149 A.D.) announced general amnesty. According to *Jonaraja*, *JaYasinha* ruled five years longer. *Utpala* was captured and killed. *Bhitsacara* was routed and killed in 1130 A.D. *Suja* was murdered by the king in 1133 A.D. at the instigation of courtiers. Feudalism is an important feature of his reign. *Bhoja* sur-

rendered himself to the king in 1145 A.D. In short, the king's whole reign was engaged in internecine wars.

The lohara dynasty was a *Rajput* dynasty and thus in the 11th and 12th centuries, as elsewhere in *India*, there were *Rajput* kings in *Kashmir* also. The preceding dynasty of *Parvagupta* was a *Vaisya* dynasty while that which preceded it, viz., that of *Yasakara* was a *Brahmin* dynasty. It may, however, be added that these two were also practically *Kshatriya* as they married into *Kshatriya* families and followed life and ritual. The *Lohara* ruling family is said to belong to the *Bhatti* clan of *Rajputs* and hence the *Kashmir* kings were probably *Bhatti*s. It is thus clear that inter-caste marriages were an order of the day in *Kashmir* in those times.

The *Damaras* in *Kashmir* were a turbulent local who were always troublesome to the reigning king and helpful to rebels. "King *Harsha* ordered slaughter of these *Damaras*; but they combined with two refuge princes and put an end to his life" (*Punjab Historical Records Vol. II, p.81*). Thus it seems that *Uccala* gained the throne with the usual help of powerful *Damaras*.

With a few solitary exceptions the ninth, tenth and twelfth centuries are described as full of hardships and misery. Short reigns, murders and suicides were a feature of this period. Anybody could rise to power and snatch the throne from his rival. History generally repeats itself. Even countries like *France*, *Italy*, *Hungary* and the *Rhine* passed through similar ups and downs.

The whole period exhibits on a smaller scale how despotic kingly Government always tends to abuse after brief period of glorious exhibition of justice and valour, how degenerate and debauch kings succeeded highly vigorous and conscientious kings in the same line, how

while power is borne with a great weight of conscience by some kings, in the hands of others it becomes the instrument of oppression and opportunity for licentiousness, how for sometime able ministers under the firm guidance of able rulers achieve great progress in administration, and how during another period unscrupulous ministers keep the country under their heel by bribery and terrorizing under incapable masters, how while under some kings an organised army is the means of securing peace at home and respect abroad, under others it becomes the defecate masters of the *State* raising to the throne after puppet, and how lastly the love of kingship sets father against son and son against father, not to speak of brother against brother and even mother against son and wife against husband. These and similar regular tendencies of despotic rule are fully exhibited elsewhere also at *Rome*, at *Baghdad*, at *Delhi*, at *Cairo*. and so on.

Kalhana flourished in the twelveth century when *JaYasinha* was guiding the destinies of *Kashmir*.

Buddhism came to *Kashmir* when *Sanskrit* lore was in full bloom. *Kashmir* had produced eminent scholars and poets. They, of course, became its admirers, not adherents. The proof of this, if a proof at all were required, lies in the fact that not a single *Buddhist Vihara* of *Buddhist Monastery* has survived to this day in *Kashmir* proper.

Buddhism disappeared from *Kashmir* by about 638 A.D. and stayed here for about nine centuries causing no change in the *Sanatan Dharma*. *Shankaracharya*, the Missionary, who once came to *Kashmir*, waged a great war against it. He was accommodated in the famous *Gope Temple* on the top of the *Gopa Hill* which later came to be known as *Shankaracharya Temple* and *Shankaracharya Hill*. There are many causes that led to its overthrow. One

is that eminent scholars appeared on the scene who revived the *Sanskrit* literature. Says *Al-Beruni* :

"The *Brahmins* do not allow the *Vedas* to be writing because it is recited according to certain moderations. They, therefore, avoid the use of pen as it is liable to cause error. The *Vedas* are consequently often lost." He further says that not long before his time *Vasukara*, a native of *Kashmir* and a famous *Brahmins*, undertook the task of explaining the *Vedas* and committing them to writing, because he was afraid that the *Vedas* might be forgotten. "He has taken upon himself a task from which all shrink." Thus the *Vedas* were first written about 1000 A.D. in *Kashmir* for the purpose of commenting upon them by *Vasukara*.

Vasukara, a small village near *Sumbal* in *Kamraj*, is probably named after this great *Brahmins* where *Rup Bhawani*, equally great *Kashmire* female saint, later on settled herself for study as well as penance.

The *Buddhist* monarchs were great builders and architects. They built huge temples and palaces. Imagination is struck when one sees massive stones used in these buildings which have in some places survived to this day. There city contained 36 lakhs of houses in the time of *Praversen II*.

The 10th and 11th centuries were parallel to *Italy* under *Pope Alexander VI* and *Caesar Borgia*.

Shaivism, then *Buddhism* and then *Tantrism*—all three attained heights in *Kashmir* during the whole course of history untill the coming of *Muslims*. Many a scholar appeared and carried forward the literature. Some books have survived as master pieces.

According to some *Tantrism* flowed from *Shaivism* and according to others it sprang from *Buddhism*.

Buddhism and *Buddhist* literature was in a flourishing condition in the time of *Karkotas*. There were tendencies to bring them nearer to the *Hindu* cults. Like *Shaivism*, *Buddhism* also developed a sacred pantheon. *Sarvajnamitras* devotional poems '*Srongdhara-Stotra*' are well-known. The *Yogachara* system of *Asanga* led to the growth of *Tantrism* within *Buddhism*. *Tantrism* is regarded as belief in mantras or in magic and sorcery. *Brha-Nila-Tantram*, *Buddhist* in origin, received a *Shaivite* garb. *Chankuna*, *Lalitaditya*'s minister, got the image of *Braha-Buddha* from his master in return for two spells or magical charms which, according to *Kalhana*, could check the flow of flooded rivers. *Marco Polo* credited *Kashmiris* with "making their idols speak." Says the *ventian* traveller—"Indeed this country (*Kashmir*) is the very source from which idolatry (*Buddhism*) has spread abroad." Growth of *Tantrism* brought *Buddhism* very near to *Shaivism* as then prevalent in the valley and the *Buddhism* which the *Kashmiri* monks thereafter gave to their northern neighbours may be called *Shiv-Buddhism*. Side-by-side *Kashmir* exported art, astrology, mathematics, medicine, music, dancing, customs and superstitions, even the alphabet.

Among the cultural conquests of *Kashmir* come *China*, *Tibet*, *Central Asia*, *Mongolia*, *Korea*, *Nepal*, *Burma* and *Japan*.

CHAPTER XII

THE RAJATARANGINI

By
R. C. Dutt

I

AS regards *Kalhana's* great *Kavya*, the *Rajatarangini*, which, after all will probably remain the only *Kashmirian* work interesting a large circle of readers, the *Sarada MS.* in the Government collection, together with my collection of *Ganakak's MS.*, *Sahebram's* explanatory treatises and abstracts, the MSS. of the *Nilamatapurana* and other works, will enable us to restore the text and to explain its meaning with greater accuracy than has hitherto been done. The contents of the first six cantos of the *Rajatarangini* were first made known by *H.H. Wilson* in 1825, in the XVth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. Next, the text was published in *Calcutta*, 1835, A.D., by the *Pandits* of the *Asiatic Society*. Some years later *A. Troyer* began a critical edition of the text, and in 1840 issued the first six cantos together with a translation of the whole eight cantos, which was completed in 1852. Further, *Lassen* gave, in his great encyclopedia of *Indian*

antiquities, the *Indische Alterthumer*, a complete analysis of the work; and last, not least, *General Cunningham* treated its chronology in an admirable article in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1848. It may seem scarcely credible that a book which has engaged the attention of so many *Sanskritists*, and of some of the first rank, is, after all the labour expended, not in a satisfactory condition, and that its explanation leaves a great deal to desire. Still this is the case, and if it is taken into consideration how bad the materials were on which the *European* and *Indian* scholars have worked, it is not wonderful that a great deal remains to be done. When *Wilson* wrote, he possessed three bad and incomplete *Devanagari MSS.*, which were so inaccurate "that a close translation of them, if desirable, would have been impracticable." The *Calcutta* edition was made, as *Troyer* states, according to a *Devanagari* transcript. In about 8000 B.C. the valley of Kashmir was a vast lake surrounded by the lofty mountains. The *Nilamata-purana* of *Nila-naga* is the earliest source of information about the 'origin of Kashmir, its earliest inhabitants and its tirthas. It tells us as to how *Shiva* drained off the lake by striking the mountains with his trisui, how the *Nagas* succeeded in killing the *Jalod* the ruler of the clan inhabiting the lake and the details about the fourteen tribes, which later on settled in the valley. Kashmir then came to be known as *Satidesha*, and people by various tribes, such as, the *Nagas* the *Pishachas*, the *Gandhravas*, the *Sakes*, *Tunganas*, and the *Yavanas*. The *Nagas*, who were of *Turanian* stock were the first inhabitants of the valley, were in majority and they were the first inhabitants of the valley, were in majority and they were the first to accept the doctrines of *Buddhism*. They were the sun and the serpent worshippers of the prehistoric times.

The history of *Kashmir*...commences at the time of the *Kuru War*. Fortunately we are also able to fix this date with a greater degree of certainty than we can fix the dates of most other events of ancient *Hindu* history. A number of very distinguished scholars, starting from different premises, and proceeding by different lines of argument, both astronomical and chronological, have yet arrived at much the same conclusion, viz., that the *Kuru* war and the final compilation of the Vedas took place about the 12th or 14th century before *Christ*. We need not here recapitulate their researches and reasoning on this point, but will only briefly allude to the results. *Colebrook*, following two different lines of reasoning, arrives nevertheless, at the same date, viz. 14th century before *Christ*. *Wilford* fixes 1370 B.C. while *Hamilton* puts it down to the 12th century B.C. *Archdeacon Pratt* accepts the conclusion of *Colebrook*. All later historians and scholars have accepted either the 14th or the 12th century before *Christ* as the date of the moments events which opened a new epoch in the history of *India*.

To the result of the researches of these eminent scholars we will only add the testimony of such facts and figures as the history of two great kingdoms in *India* can

supply. The *History of Magadha*, thanks to the *Buddhistic* revolution, presents us with some dates which cannot be disputed. *Sakya Sinha*, the founder of the *Buddhist* religion, died about 550 B.C., and thirty-five princes reigned in *Magadha* between the *Kuru* war and the time of *Sakya Sinha*. Seventeen or sixteen years are considered a good general average of the reigns of kings in *India*; we shall accept the more moderate average, viz, 16 years, and this calculation shows that the *Kuru* war took place in the 12th century before *Christ*.

Last, though not the least, is the testimony of the history of *Kashmir*. *Kalhana Pandit*, the writer of the history, lived in 1148 A.D. and his dates are perfectly reliable, and have rightly been accepted by *H.H. Wilson*, up to five or six centuries previous to the time of the historian. Indeed there can be no doubt as to the correctness of *Kalhana's* dates up to the reign of *Durlabhabardhana*, who ascended the throne in 598 A.D. When, however the historian travels to an interior period, his dates become extravagant and unreliable, and require to be adjusted. *Wilson* has, by so adjusting the dates, ascertained that the reign of *Gonanda I*, who was contemporaneous with the heroes of the *Kuru* war, happened about 1400 B.C. We should have very much liked to see *Dutt* attempting such and adjustment of dates. Since, however, he has not done so, and, as we cannot for many reasons accept *Wilson's* dates, we shall attempt to adjust the dates for ourselves.

We have seen that *Durlabhabardhana* ascended the throne in 598 A.D. Thirty-seven kings reigned between the time of *Gonanda III* and *Durlabhardhana*. Giving sixteen years to each reign, we find that *Gonanda III* ascended the throne A.D. 6, that is about the commencement of the *Christian era*.

What was the period which elapsed between *Gonanda I* and *Gonanda III* ? We are told that fifty-two kings reigned from *Gonanda I* and *Gonanda III*, and they reigned over a period of 1266 years. This gives an average of over twenty-four years for each reign, which, though not impossible, is highly improbable. Either, then, the period (1266 years) has been wrongly described, or there is a mistake in the number given of the kings who reigned in this period. If we had as clear and reliable an account of these fifty-two kings before *Gonanda III*, as we have of the kings who succeeded him, who should not have hesitated to give them each an average of sixteen years reign as we have done to the successors of *Gonanda III* and so reduced the alleged period of 1266 years to 832 years. But so far from having any reliable account of these fifty-two kings, the very names of most of them are lost, and we have therefore the bare assertion of *Kalhana* that fifty-two unknown kings reigned. It is more than probable therefore that, in reckoning this number, weak princes who reigned for short periods have not been included and that the actual number of kings whom reigned before *Gonanda III*. was over fifty-two. That this is likely, appears from a disagreement between two authorities who *Kalhana* quotes in his history. *Padmamihira* says there were eight kings from *Lava* to *Abhimanyu*, while *Srichchhavillaka* says there were only five. It is clear, therefore, that no reliance can be placed on the number given of the princes who reigned before *Gonanda III*. It is very likely that the number was over fifty-two, and it is not unlikely therefore that the period covered by these reigns has correctly been described as 1266 years.

Even assuming that only fifty-two princes did reign from *Gonanda I* to *Gonanda III*, it is not impossible to

suppose that the average of their reigns was twenty-four years, and that they ruled for 1266 years, which is the period given by *Kalhana*. We cannot therefore be far from the truth if we accept *Kalhana's* statement that 1266 years elapsed from the reign of *Gonanda I*, to that *Gonanda III*. But we have seen before that *Gonanda III* began to reign in 6 A.D. It follows, therefore, that *Gonanda I* reigned and the heroes of the *Kuru* war lived, in 1260 B.C. Such is the testimony borne by the history of *Kashmir* as regards the date of the war of the *Kurus*.

Thus, then, by the concurrent testimony of all antiquarians and scholars of note who have enquired into the subject, by reasoning based on astronomical, philological and chronological premises, as well as by the evidence afforded by the histories of *Maghada* and of *Kashmir* respectively, the date of the war of the *Kurus* is fixed between the 12th and the 14th century before christ. This is the date when the *Vedic* period closed and the *Vedas* were arranged and compiled, and a new apoch in the history of *India* was opened. And this, too, is the date from which the history of *Kashmir* commences. From this date then, shall we follow *Kalhana's* history of *Kashmir* occasionally alluding to contemporaneous events which transpired in other parts of *India*.

Gonanda I then reigned about 1260 B.C. and was the friend of *Jarasandha* and the opponent of *Krishna*. He invaded *Mathura*, the capital of *Krishna*, but was defeated in battle and fell pierced with wounds. The proud of *Damodara I* brooded over the circumstances of his father's death, and determined to wipe out the disgrace, and he suddenly attacked *Krishna* in the midst of some nuptial festivities on the banks of the *Indus*. *Krishna*, however, was victorior, and *Damodar*, like his father, fell on the field of

battle. His widow *Yasabati* was with child, and was raised to the throne. In due time, she gave birth to a boy who was named after his grandfather *Gonanda*. It was in the reign of the boy *Gonanda II*, that the war of the *Kurus* was fought, but *Gonanda II* was only a boy and would not join either side. There is a long blank in the history of *Kashmir*, and nothing is known of the successors of *Gonanda II* for several centuries. Indeed the eventful period which elapsed from the war of the *Kurus* to the rise of *Buddhism* in *India* is a blank in the history of *Kashmir*.

But although this is a blank period in *Kashmirian* history, it is not a blank in the great story of the progress of the *Hindu* nation and civilisation. On the contrary, we know with some degree of accuracy, the sort of change which *Hindu* society underwent during the centuries after the Kuru war. The *Kshatriyas*, or warrior caste, of king *Janaka*'s time had asserted their equality with *Brahmans* or priests in learning and in rank, and the successors of *Janaka* had signalled their prowess by carrying the *Aryan* banner to the southernmost point of *India*, as also by fighting the great war subsequently described in the *Mahabharata*. This activity of the *Kshatriyas* manifested itself no less in bold investigations into philosophy and religion than in wars : and in the *Upanishads*, composed about this time, very often by *Kshatriyas*, we see the first recorded human attempts to solve those problems of philosophy which ages and centuries after puzzled the thinkers of *Greece*, *Arabia* or modern *Europe*.

But this activity of the *Kshatriyas* appears to have abated after a time, and the *Brahmans* succeeded in assuming and even monopolising that supremacy in thought and learning which the warriors had in vain tried to share with them. In the *Sutra* literature, which was written

after the *Vedic* period, we mark not only the activity of the *Brahminical* intellect, but also that unquestioned supremacy which the priests at last established over the *Kshatriyas*. Not only were philosophy, astronomy, rhetoric, grammar, metre and cognate sciences cultivated by *Brahmans* with wonderful acuteness and success, but social laws were laid down investing *Brahmans* with a halo of unapproachable sanctity and glory. Indeed *Brahmans* appear to have used the power which they had now attained to their best advantage : there was one law for them, another law for others; *Brahman* offenders were treated with leniency, offenders against *Brahmans* were punished with tifold severity; *Brahmans* alone had the right to expound the *Vedas*; they alone formed all ceremonies and received gifts from other castes; they monopolised all the highest and most honourable executive and judicial posts under Government, and they also enjoyed a practical monopoly of philosophy, science and learning. However much we may admire the genius of the *Brahmans* of this period; however highly we may esteem their six schools of philosophy their astronomy, their science and their poetry;- the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* were originally composed at this period,- we nevertheless cannot help deploring the loss of that equality between man and man which the *Kshatriyas* had vainly attempted to establish, and we deeply regret the civilization of this period in which the rights of humanity were sacrificed in order to add to the privileges and heighten the dignity of priests and priesthood.

Happily the *Kshatriyas* made another attempt to shake priestly supremacy and preach the equality of man, and the effect was the rise of that religion which even now, after the lapse of over two thousand years, counts a larger

position of the human race among its followers than either *Christianity*, or *Muhammadanism*, or *Hinduism* or any other religion. This reaction against priestly supremacy, this second recorded attempt of *Kshatriyas* to proclaim the equality of man is known as the rise of *Buddhism* in the sixth century before *Christ*.

We need not here retrace the story of the great *Sakya Sinha* and his religion, which ignored caste inequalities and proclaimed the equality of man and humanity towards all living beings. *India* listened to the great lesson and benefited by it, and the great religious revolution evoked a social and a political change. Extension of ideas had its effect on the political economy of *India*, and the supremacy of king *Asoka* and of the *Bukkhist* religion over all northern *India*, in the third century before *Christ*, was only an effect of the great lessons and the enlarged views which *Sakya Sinha* had preached to the world. For two or three centuries more *Buddhism* remained the dominant religion in *India*, after which it gradually gave place to that *Brahmanism* and priestly supremacy which prevails to the present day. Let us, then, turn to the history of *Kashmir* and see whether we discover here that contention between *Brahmanism* and *Buddhism* which shook all *India* for centuries before and after the birth of christ.

After the long bland which we have spoken of above, we come to a line of eight kings, from *Lava* to *Sachinara*, of whom *Kalhana* has very little to say. *Sachinara* was succeeded by *Asoka*, who was the fifth prince before *Gonanda III* and who, therefore, according to our calculation, reigned in the first century before *Christ*. *Buddhism* was then the prevailing religion in *India*; and *Kalhana* tells us that *Asoka* himself was a *Buddhist* and a

truthful and a spotless king, and built many *Buddhist* stupas on the banks of the *Bitasta* (Jhelum). He also built a chaitya so high that its top could not be seen, and he founded the city of *Srinagar* which exists to the present day. He also, according to *Kalhana*, pulled down the wall of an old *Hindu* temple and built a new wall to it; and the writer of the *Ayin-i-Akbari* is therefore probably right in saying that *Asoka* "abolished the Brahminical rites and substituted those of *Jaina*". There can be no doubt, therefore, that the dispute between *Brahmans* and *Buddhists* had commenced before the time of *Asoka*, and that in the first century before *Christ* *Buddhism* was the prevailing religion in *Kashmir*, as elsewhere in *India*.

The death of *Asoka* appears to have been a serious loss to *Buddhism* in *Kashmir*, for his successor *Jaloka* appears to have been a *Hindu* and a *Saiva*. He was a powerful king and drove back the *Mlechchhas* (*Scythians*?) who had overrun *Kashmir* during the lifetime of his father and he extended his conquest to the eastern side of *Kanouj*. This conquest of one of the great centres of *Grahmanism* by a prince of *Kashmir* "possibly marks the introduction of the *Brahmanical* creed in its more perfect form into the kingdom" of *Kashmir*. *Kalhana* informs us that from *Kanouj*, *Jaloka* carried to his kingdom some min of each of the four castes who were versed in law and religion, (*Brahmanical* of course,) that he created new offices after the orthodox method, that he established eighteen places of worship, and used to hear the *Nandi Purana* recited. The triumph of *Brahmanism* seemed to be complete, but the *Buddhist* did not lose heart, and their attempts to win over the king have been thus handed down by tradition in the shape of a tale. We quote from *Dutt's* translation:

"It is narrated of this king that one day, when he was going to the temple of *Vijayeshvara*, he met a woman in the way who asked him for some food, and when he promised her whatever food she wanted, she changed herself into some deformed shape and asked for human flesh. Unwilling to kill any one to satisfy her unnatural appetite, he permitted her to take off what she liked from his own body. This heroic self-devoted seemed to move her, and she remarked, that for his tender regard for the life of others she considered him a second *Buddha*. The king, being a follower of *Shiva*, did not know *Buddha*, and asked her who *Buddha* was, whom she took to be. She then unfolded her mission and said on the other side of the hill of *Lokaloka*, where the sun never shone, there lived a tribe of *Krittika* who were the followers of *Buddhs*. 'The tribe,' she continued with those the eloquence of a missionary, 'were never angry even with who did them injury, forgave them that trespassed against them, and even did them good. They taught truth and wisdom to all, and were willing to dispel the darkness of ignorance that covered the earth. But this people, she added, 'you have injured. There was a monastery belonging to us in which the beating of drums once disturbed your sleep, and incited by the advice of wicked men, you have destroyed the monastery. The angry *Buddhists* sent me to murder you, but our high priest interfered; he told me that you were a powerful monarch, against whom we would not be able to cope. He said that if you would listen to me, and built a monastery with you gold, you would atone for the sins of which you are guilty in destroying the former one. Here I came, therefore and tested your heart in disguise *Krittidevi* then returned to her people after extorting from the king a promise to build a

monastery, and agreeably to this promise he caused it to be erected on the very place of their meeting."

Jaloka was succeeded by *Damodara II*, and in the account of his reign we have the counterpart of the story we have given above. For now it was the *Brahmans* who were angry with the king, probably for his favouring *Buddhism*, and their attempt to revive their faith is thus handed down by tradition in the shape of a tale which we also quote from *Dutt's* work :

"One day, when the king was going to bathe, previous to performing a *Sraddha*, some hungry *Brahmans* asked him for food; but he disregarded their request and was proceeding to the river, when the *Brahmans* by force of their worship brought the river to his feet. 'Look' said they, 'here is *Bitasta* (*Jhelum*) now feed us! " But the king suspected it to be the effect of magic. 'Go away for the present,' replied the king. 'I will not feed you till I have bathed.' The *Brahmans* then cursed him saying that he would be turned into a serpent. When much entreated to withdraw their curse, they so far mitigated it as to say, that if the king could listen to the *Ramayana* from the beginning to the end in one day, he would be restored to his form. To this day he may be seen running about at *Damodarasuda* in the form of a thirsty serpent.'

These stories, which appear so childish on the face of them, are simply invaluable when taken according to their proper significance. They show that in the first century before *Christ* the great religious revolution which had shaken the whole continent of *India* had also found its way into the secluded heights of *Kashmir*, and that *Brahmans* and *Buddhists* in that country were struggling for that supremacy which eventually crowned the efforts of the latter.

Such *Brahman* supremacy, however, was not achieved in a day, and in the joint reign of *Hushka*, *Jushka* and *Kanishka*, the immediate successors of *Damodara II*, *Buddhism* was once more triumphant, and "during their long reign *Buddhism* hermits were all powerful in the country and *Buddhist* religion prevailed without opposition." In the reign of their successor, *Abhimanyu*, "the *Buddhists*, under their great leader *Nagarjuna*, continued to gain strength in the country; they not only defeated in argument the *Pandits* who upheld the worship of *Siva*, and rejected the duties prescribed in the *Nila Purana*, but had the influence to discontinue the ceremonies and worship enjoined by it. The *Nagas*, in consequences, rose in arms, murdered many people, mostly *Buddhists*, by rolling down ice from the mountains and carried on their devastations year by year. Thus religious differences, as elsewhere, culminated in civil war, man killed man for differences in belief and the country was in confusion. *Brahman*, intellect and influence prevailed in the end over *Buddhism*, and *Chandracharya*, the learned and noted grammarian, led the van of *Brahmanical* success. It was the instrumentality of such powerful intellects which appeared in *India* from time to time, the *Brahmanism* slowly triumphed over *Buddhism* from the commencement of the *Christian* era. *Chandracharya*, of *Kashmir*, was probably the first of these apostles of modern *Brahmanism*; *Sankaracharya*, of Southern *India*, who lived and preached in the 8th or 9th century after *Christ*, was the last. *Abhimanyu* was the last of his dynasty. His successor, *Gonanda III*, began a new dynasty in 6 A.D., as we have seen before.

Here we come across a curious test by which we may examine the correctness or otherwise of the dates we have given to the reigns of kings. The *Chinese* traveller

Hieun Tsiang tells us that *Kanishka* succeeded to the kingdom of *Kashmir* "in the four hundredth year after the *Nirvana*." (*Beales' translation*). *R.Davids* fixes the *Nirvana* at about 412 B.C. So that *Kanishka* began his reign about the beginning of the *Christian* era. The profound antiquarian *Lassen* also proves from coins that *Kanishka* lived between 10 A.D., and 40 A.D. Accepting this conclusion as correct, and giving 16 years for the intervening reign of *Abhimanyu*, we find that *Gonanda III.* commenced his reign at 56 A.D., i.e just half a century after the date that we have given him. If then, in testing our long chain of calculations and dates by a random and severe test, at one single point we find that we are out only by 50 years, it follows that the *China* of our calculations cannot be very far from correct.

There is yet another fact about *Kanishka* which we wish to mention before we proceed further with our story. *Indian* writers have carefully concealed the fact of foreign immigrations and conquests in *India* though we know such things have taken place. The present instance is a case in point. *Kalhana* suppresses the fact that *Kanishka* was a foreign invader. We learn from the *Chinese* historians however that he belongs to the *Gushan* tribe of the *Yuei-Chi*, who came originally from the borders of *China*. We learn from *Hieun-Tsiang* that tributary princes from *China* sent hostages to him, and that the town where the hostages resided was called *Chinapati*.

The fifth king after *Gonanda III.*, was *Nara I*, who "burnt thousands and thousands of monasteries and gave to the *Brahmans* who dwelt at *Madhyamanta* the villages that supported those monasteries." The reason assigned for this conduct is, that a *Buddhist* had eloped with the king's wife; but this seems unlikely and false, and has apparently been

got up by later *Brahmans* to blacken the character of the *Buddhists*. The real cause seems to be, in the struggle between *Brahmanism* and *Buddhism*, the former had now complete ascendancy, and the gradual extinction of *Buddhism* in *Kashmir* was only question of time.

The fifth king *Nara I* was *Mukula*, in whose reign *Mlechchas* (*Schthians*?) once more overran *Kashmir*. His successor, *Mihirakula*, is described as a powerful but cruel king, and is said to have invaded and conquered *Ceylon* and then returned through *Chola*, *Karnata*, *Nata* and other kingdoms. *Gopaditya* was the sixth king after *Mihirakula*, and he bestowed many villages on *Brahmans*, expelled from his country irreligious *Brahmans* who used to eat garlic, brought purer *Brahmans* from foreign countries, and forbade the slaughter of animals except for religious purposes. *Brahmanism* in *Kashmir*, as elsewhere in *India*, was apparently assuming its most rigid shape after its triumph over *Buddhism*; priests invented new laws and prohibitions to enslave a superstitious people; thought and culture were prohibited to all except *Brahmans*, apparently to prevent any future reaction against *Brahman* supermacy; gods and religious rites and superstitious observances were multiplied by a number of modern *Puranas*, written by astute priests, but prudently ascribed to the great *Vyasa* the compiler of the *Vedas*, and the unhealthy and demoralizing religion, *Puranism*, fast reared its head over the ashes of *Buddhism*. The nation which had once dared to question the supremacy of *Brahmans* and *Brahmanism* was now shakled by its chains, once and for ever.

Three kings reigned after *Gopaditya*, after which *Pratapaditya* began a new dynasty in the year 342 A.D. according to our calculation. A severe famine visited *Kashmir* in the reign of *Tunjina I*, the grandson of

Pratapaditya and the son and successor of *Jalauka*, in consequence of the sali grain being blighted by a sudden and heavy frost. The king died childless, and *Vijaya*, of a different family, succeeded him. *Jayendra*, his son, reigned after him, and after him his minister, *Sandhimate*, became king, but resigned the high office in favour of *Meghabahana*, a descendant from the older royal dynasty of *Gonanda III*.

Meghabahana, who ascended the throne in 438 A.D. according to our calculation, seemed to have been favourably inclined towards *Buddhism*, and his queens built numerous *Buddhist* monasteries in the kingdom. Following the *Buddhist* doctrines, the king not only prohibited the slaughter of animals in his own kingdom, but is said to have "carried his arms to the sea, and even to *Ceylon*, making the subdued kings promise not to kill animals." *Meghabahana* was succeeded by his son, *Shreshtasena*, and his son, *Hiranya*, succeeded him.

After the death of *Hiranya*, a foreigner, *Matrigupta*, obtained the kingdom of *Kashmir* by the help of *Bikramaditya*, king of *Ojein*. This was probably the great *Bikramaditya* of *Ojein* in whose reign the poet *Kalidasa* lived (5th century A.D.), but the historians of *Kashmir* mistakes him for *Bidramaditya*, the foe of the *Sakas*, who lived in the first century before *Christ*. *Matrigupta* was a courtier of *Bikramaditya*, and, was rewarded by him with the kingdom of *Kashmir*; and the people of *Kashmir* accepted the king sent to them by the renowned king of *Ojein*.

In the meantime *Pravarasena*, the nephew of the late king *Hiranya*, and the rightful heir of *Kashmir*, marched against *Bikramaditya* who had usurped his heritage and bestowed it on a stranger. *Bikramaditya* died

about this time, and his protege, *Matrigupta*, resigned in grief and *Pravarsena*, therefore, easily got back the kingdom of his uncle. He was a powerful prince and defeated the people of *Sauratra* (near Surat), and seven times defeated *Siladitya*, the successor of *Bijramaditya* of *Ojein*, and brought away from that place the ancient throne of *Kashmir*, which *Bikramaditya* appears to have taken away from *Kashmir*. His son, *Yudhistira II*, and grandson, *Narendraditya*, succeeded him in their turns, and the latter was succeeded by his buother, *Ranaditya*. *Bikramaditya*, the son of *Ranaditya*, was a powerful king, and so was his brother and successor, *Baladitya*, with whom the dynasty ended. *Baladitya* died in 598 A.D. and his son-in-law *Durlabhabardhana*, of *Kayastha* caste, began a new dynasty. From this date, 598 A.D. we can rely on *Kalhana's* dates.

Durlabhabardhana was succeeded by his son *Durlabhaka*, in 634 A.D., and his son *Chandrapira*, succeeded in 648 A.D. *Chandrapira* was murdered by his brother *Tarapira*, who employed some *Brahmans* to do this foul deed, in 693, but the impious brother, after a short reign of four years, himself fell a victim to the intrigue of *Brahmans* and was murdered. His brother *Lalitaditya* succeeded in 697 A.D. and was a powerful and warlike king, and set out on an expedition to subdue the continent. He subdued *Kanyakubja*, and *Bhananhuti*, the grteatest dramatec poet of *India* after *Kalidasa*, came over to the court of the conqueror. He then proceded on his march of conquest through *Kalinga*, *Gour*, and along the Bay of *Bengal* to *Karnata*, which was at that time governed by a powerful queen. She submitted to *Lalitaditya*, who is said to have then "crossed the sea, passing from one island to

another." Then the king turned northwards, crossed the vinda and entered *Avanti*.

Some hard fighting followed, when the king tried to subdue the hardy races and kings of the country now called *Rajputana*, after which the king returned to his country. He built numerous edifices, *Buddhist* as well as *Brahmanical*, and his queens and Ministers followed his example. In the end the king appears to have lost his life in attempting to penetrate the *Himalayas* to conquer the unknown North.

Kubalayapira succeeded his father in 733 A.D., but had to resign in favour of his more powerful brother *Bajraditya* who reigned from 734 to 741 A.D. We read that "this luxurious king had many females in his zenana. He sold many people to the *Mlechchhas* and introduced their evil habits." Who are these *Mlechchhas*, with their luxurious and evil habits, and their custom of buying slaves in *India*, of whom we now hear for the first time? The dates at once show that they were *Muhammad Kasim*, the first *Mahomedan* invader of *India* and his successors, who kept possession of *Scinde* from 711 to 750 A.D. The passage above quoted, then, is the first mention of *Mahomedans* in the history of *Kashmir*, unless some of the victories of *Lalitaditya* of which we have spoken in the last paragraph, were victories over the *Mahomedans of Scinde*.

Prithivyapira reigned for four years, and *Sangramapira* for seven days, after the powerful *Jayapira* ascended the throne in 754 and reigned for thirty-one years. He was a great patron of learning, invited men of genius to his court, and employed learned men in collecting the fragments of *Patanjali's* works, and *Commentary on Katyana's Notes on Panini's grammar*. These are the greatest grammarians of *India*, and we know from the above passage that they must have lived long before the

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eighth century of the *Christain* era. Jayapira travelled out of his kingdom in disguise to *Gour*, there married the king's daughter, and, returning to his country, vanquished and killed his rebellious brother-in-law, who had usurped *Kashmir* in his absence. Soon after he again set out for conquest. In the kingdom of *Bhimsena*, and again in *Nepal*, he was beaten and imprisoned, but on both occasions he managed to escape and to triumph over his enemies in the end.

Returning to his country, Jayapira followed the advice of *Kayastha* Ministers and financiers, so offended the *Brahmans*, who (being the historians of *Kashmir*) have not failed to heap abuse on him. The following account of the death of *Jayapira*, which we take from *Dutt's* translation, will give a good idea of the insolence and pride of the *Brahmans*, as well as of the manner in which they fabricated stories and interwove them with history in order to preserve their supremacy and glorify their power.

"The *Brahmans* who dwelt at *Tulamula*, once came to say something to the king, but were struck in his presence by his door keeper, and consequently were very angry. '*Brahmans* were never insulted before, even in the presence of *Manu*, *Mandhata*, *Rama* and other great kings,' they said, 'and when angry they can destroy in a moment the heaven with *Indra*, the earth with her mountains, and the nether world with its *Naga-chief*. The king, who would not ask for advice, and was deserted by his feudatory kings, replied with supercilious pride : 'You cunning people who eat by begging, what pride is this of yours that you pretend to do what the *Rishis* did.' The *Brahmans* were cowed down by his frown, but one litti thus replied :- 'We conduct ourselves according to the times; as you are a king, even so we are *Rishis*.' The king scornfully inquired : 'Art thou the

great *Rishe*, *Vishvamitra*, or *Vashishta*, or *Agastha* ?' And, as if flaming with anger, the other replied, 'If you be *Harishchandra*, *Trishanku* or *Nahusha*, then I am one of those you mention. The king then answered with a smile, 'The curse of *Vishvamitra* and other destroyed *Harishchandra* &c., what will your anger effect ?' The *Brahmana* struck the earth with his hand and said, 'Will not my anger bring down *Brahmadanda* on thee? Then said the angry king, 'Let fall the *Brahmadanda* , why delay it longer ?' "O cruel man ! there it falls.' And no sooner had *Itti* said so, than a golden bar from the canopy fell on the king. The wound degenerated into erysipelatous inflammation, and insects generated on the suppuration. He suffered great pain, the sample of what he would have to suffer in hell. After five nights, he who had courted danger, died."

His son, *Lalitapira*, reigned for twelve years and was succeeded by his half-brother, *Sangramapira*, who reigned till 795 A.D. On his death, *Chippatajayapira*, the son of *Lalitapira* by a concubine, was raised to the throne, and the five brothers of his woman shared all the ruling power among themselves. They and their sons successively set up three more kings on the throne, after which *Avantivarma*, the grandson of one of these brothers, ascended the throne, and thus commenced a new dynasty in 885 A.D.

It is in the reign of *Avantivarma* that we first read an account of the country being improved by drainage and irrigation operations, and *Suyya* was the great engineer who performed this work. He was of low birth, and as usual, his attempts have been somewhat grotesquely described; but nevertheless, our readers will not fail to observe from the following passage that *Kashmir* was

greatly benefited by the industry and intellect of this great man. We quote from *Dutt's* translation.

"One day, when some people were grieving on account of the recent floods, he, *Suyya*, remarked that he had intellect but not money, and he could therefore give no redress. This speech was reported to the king by his spies, and the king wondered and caused him to be brought before him. The king asked him as to what he said. He fearlessly repeated that he had intellect but no money. The courtiers pronounced him to be mad, but the king, in order to try his intellect, placed all his wealth at the disposal of this man. *Suyya* took out many vessels filled with dinnaras, but went by boat of *Madava*. There in the village named *Nandaka*, which was under water, he threw a pot of dinnaras, and returned. Although the courtiers pronounced him to be undoubtedly mad, the king heard of his work, and inquired as to what he did afterwards. At *Yakshadara* in *Kramarajya* he began to throw dinnaras by handfuls into the water. The *Vitasta* was there obstructed by rocks which had fallen into its bed from both its rocky banks; and the villagers who were suffering from scarcity, began to search for the dinnaras, and in so doing removed the rocks which were in the bed of the river and cleared the passage of the water. No sooner had the water flowed out than *Suyya* raised a stone embankment along the *Vitasta*, which was completed within seven days. He then cleared the bed of the river, and then broke down the embankments. The passage was now quite open, and the river flowed easily and rapidly towards the sea, as if anxiously and eagerly, after this long detention; and consequently the land again appeared above the waters. He then cut new canals from the *Vitasta* wherever he thought that the course of the river had been obstructed. Thus many streams issued out of one main

river, even like the several heads of a serpent from one trunk. *Sindhu* which flowed from *Trigrama* to the left, and *Vitasta* on the right, were made to meet one another at *Vainyasvami*. And even to this day the junction made by *Suyya*, near this town, exists; as also the two gods *Vishnusvami* and *Vainyasvami* at *Phalapura* and *Parihasaura* situated on either side of the junction; and the god *Hrish* ha whom *Suyya* worshipped, just at the junction. And to this day may also be seen the trees which grew on the banks of the rivers as it flowed before, distinguished by marks of ropes by which boats were tied to them. Thus *Suyya* diverted the course of rivers. He raised a stone embankment seven yojanas in length; and thereby brought the waters of the *Mahapadma* lake under control. He joined the waters of the lake *Mahapadma* with those of the *Vitasta*, and built many populous villages after having rescued the land from the waters... He examined several places and irrigated many villages (the produce of which did not depend on rain) by means of artificial canals cut from the *Chanula* and other rivers until the whole country became beautiful. Thus *Suyya* benefited the country such as even *Kashyapa* and *Valadeva* had not done."

Avantivarman died in 883, the first *Vaishnava* king that we read of *Vaishnavism* and *Saktaism* are later phases of *Hinduism* than *Shaivaism*, and in the history of *Kashmir* we scarcely hear anything of *Vaishnavism* till the present time (1880).

His successor *Sankaravarma*, was a great conqueror and conquered *Guzerat*. Returning to his country, he listened to the advice of his *Kayastha* financiers and imposed taxes on the people which made him unpopular with them, or any rate, with the offended *Brahmans* who narrate his history. He conquered many hill places on the

banks of the *Indus* and was at last killed by the arrow of a hunter. *Surendravati* and two other queens perished with him on the pyre, 902 A.D.

In the short reign of his successor *Gopalavarma*, the Minister *Prabhakara* (who was a favourite of the queen mother *Sugandha*), defeated "*the reigning Shahi*" because he had disobeyed his orders to build a town in "*Shahirajya*". This seems to have been some petty dependent or tributary king, and we shall hereafter read more of the "*Shahirajya*."

Gopalavarma's brother, *Sankata*, dying ten days after the former their mother *Sugandha*, a dissolute woman, reigned for two years by the help of the *Ekangas*. The *Tantri* infantry, however, raised *Partha* to the throne; a civil war ensued, the *Ekangas* were beaten and the queen *Sugandha* killed, 906 A.D. The *Tantris*, being now supreme, set up one king after another, according as they were bribed and courted, until *Chakravarma* with the help of the *Damaras* the *Ekangas* at last broke their power in 935 A.D., and for the third time ascended the throne. Within two years he was assassinated by some *Damaras* and was succeeded by *Partha's* son, *Unmattavanti*. This young man killed his father, but died soon after, and his successor *Suravarma* was the last of this unfortunate dynasty which ended in 939 A.D.

Yasaskara, the first king of the new dynasty, was the son of *Prabhakara*, who had been minister of *Gopalavarma* of the preceding dynasty, and was famed for his justice; but in the very year of his death *Purbagupta* murdered his son, *Sangarma*, and founded a new dynasty. His son, *Kshemagupta*, inherited the vices and dissolute habits of his father and reigned worthy king of the line, and reigned fourteen years; and on his death his mother, *Didida* (widow of *Kshemagupta*), successively murdered three

infant kings (her grandsons), *Nandigupta*, *Tribhubanagupta*, and *Bhimagupta*, and became queen in 980 A.D. She reigned for 23 years and in her reign her favourite, *Tunga*, defeated the king of *Rajapuri*

Didda's nephew, *Kshamapati*, ascended the throne in 1003 A.D. and reigned till 1028 A.D. *Tunga*, who had been the favourite of *Didda*, was all powerful during the reign of her nephew, and went out with a *Kashmirian* army and *Rajput* and other subsidiary forces to help the *Shahi* king against the attack of the *Turashkas*. We shall quote *Kalhana's* account of the event from *Dutt's* translation :

"The *Kashmirians* crossed the river *Toushi*, and destroyed the detachment of soldiers sent by *Hammira* to reconnoitre. But though the *Kashmirians* were eager for the fight, the wise *Shahi* repeatedly advised them to take shelter behind the rock, but *Tungga* disregarded the advice, for all advice is vain when one is doomed to destruction. The general of the *Turks* was well versed in the tactics of war and brought out his army early in the morning. On this the army of *Tunga* immediately dispersed, but the troops of the *Shahi* fought for a while."

The heroism of the *Shahi* king, however, was unavailing. He was beaten, and his kingdom was destroyed for ever.

Now who was the *Hammira* (a *Mohammedan* name parently) and who were these powerful *Turashkas* who defeated the *Kashmirians* and the *Rajputs* and annexed the "*Shahirajya*," and ally or dependent of *Kashmir* ? The dates show at once that *Kalhana* is speaking is speaking of the invasion of *India* by the invincible *Mahmud* of *Ghazni*.

Tunga was soon after murdered, and *Nandimukha* was sent with another army against the *Turashkas*, but they,

too, fled back to their country before the conquering Moslems.

Hariraja succeeded his father, *Kshmpati* and reigned only for 22 days, after which his brother *Ananta Deva*, ascended the throne and reigned 35 years, i.e from 1028 to 1063 A.D. We read that in this reign one *Brahmaraja* combined with seven *Mlechcha* kings had entered *Kashmir*, but was beaten back by *Rudrapala*, the powerful *Kashmirian* general. When we remember that, from the time of *Mahmud of Ghazni*, a part of the *Punjab* always remained under *Mohammedan* rule, we are at no loss to guess who these seven *Mlechchhas* were.

After a long reign of 35 years *Ananta* was prevailed upon by his queen to resign in favour of his son *Ranaditya*; but the prince was unworthy of their confidence, and shocked his parents and all men by his excesses of wickedness, folly and dissipation. *Disheartened* at this conduct of their son, the aged parents retired to *Bihayeswara* and passed their days in devotion, but even there they were not allowed to enjoy repose. Harassed by the enmity of this ungrateful son, *Ananta* at last committed suicide, and his widow ascended the funeral pyre.

The ingratitude of *Ranaditya* towards his father was punished by the misconduct of his son, *Harsha*, who rose in rebellion. *Ranaditya* died in 1089 A.D., a victim to his dissolute habits; his son *Utkarsha* succeeded him, but was soon deposed by his abler and more popular brother, *Harsha*, and committed suicide. *Bijayamalla*, who had helped his brother *Harsha* to the throne, now thirsted for the kingdom himself, but the fraternal war finally came to an end by the accidental death of *Bijaymala*.

Harsha's powerful general, *Kandarpa*, subdued the king of *Rajapuri*, but at last retired from the court in disgust

at the growing jealousy of the king. *Harsha* subsequently attempted to subdue *Rajapuri* and *Darad* respectively but failed in both his attempts. His excessive taxation and his oppression over the *Damaras* made them rise in rebellion; and they had powerful chiefs in two brothers *Uchchala* and *Sussala*. *Uchchala* defeated the *Lord of Maudala*, but was subsequently beaten by the royal army.

His brother *Sussala* defeated the royal commander *Manikya*, broke through all opposition and defeated the *Lord of Mandala*, but was at last beaten by *Bhoja*, the son of king *Harsha*. At last *Uchchala* defeated *Harsha* and his son *Bhoja* in a single battle, burnt the capital and became king. The unfortunate *Harsha* retired to the tent of a hermit, but was there traced out and killed, 1101 A.D.

We have only one more remark to make of *Harsha's* reign. Allusions to *Turashkas* and their kingdom become more frequent now than ever before. Thus we are told that *Harsha* had a hundreded *Turashka* chiefs under his pay; that, after besieging *Rajapuri*, he fled back to his kingdom through fear of the *Turashka* who, he heard, were approaching; and lastly, that his oppressed subjects left their homes and went to the country of the *Mlechchas*. Who are these *Turashkas* and what was their country of which we find such frequent mention during the reign of *Harsha*? The dates of *Harsha's* reign show at once that there was good reason for such frequent allusion to the rising *Turashka* power, for it was during *Harsha's* reign that *Shahhabuddin Mohammed Ghori* conquered *Delhi*, *Kanauj*, and the whole of northern *India*, and *Hindu* independence was lost once and for ever...

We have traced the history of *Kashmir* from the earliest times to the date of the final conquest of *India* by the *Mohammedans*. We have refrained from making any

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remarks on the value of *Kalhana's* great work, because the above brief resume of it is the best commentary on its great value. We have seen how every great social or religious revolution, and every great historical event which transpired in *India*, have left their impress on the history of this secluded province. The history of this province has borne its testimony towards fixing the date of the great *Kuru* war; it has helped us to understand how Buddhism was a protest against caste distinctions, and a *Kshtriya* assertion of the equality of all men; it has revealed to us how *Buddhism* was for a time the accepted faith of the kings and peoples of *India*, and how, after the commencement of that *Christian* era, it began to decline under the renowned exertions of *Brahmans* to assert their supremacy and revive their old religion. In the history of *Kashmir* we find evidences of the dates of the two great dramatic poets of *India*, viz., *Kalidasa* and *Bhababhuti*; in it we find allusions to the first *Mohammedan* invasion of *India* under the renowned *Mohammed Kasim*; in it we read of that "General of the *Turashkas*—"well versed in the tactics of war—, the invincible *Mahmud of Ghuzni*, before whom the *Kashmirian* army twice recoiled in dismay and disorder and, lastly, in this history we read of the rising power and kingdom of the *Turashka* at the end of the eleventh century, when *Delhi* and *Kanauj* and all Northern *India* fell under the power of the followers of the prophet.

Such are some of the facts we learn from *Kalhana's* history of *Kashmir*, and considering the poverty of historical records in *India*, the value of this record can scarcely be overestimated..."*Calcutta Review*," 1880.

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 three other volumes of it are the best commentaries on the great
 value we have seen how every great social or religious
 revolution, and every great historical event, which
 happened in Kashmir have left their impress on the history of
 this secluded province. The history of this province has
 borne a testimony towards fixing the date of the great
 law which helped us to understand how Hinduism
 was a protest against caste distinctions, and a Kashmiri
 version of the equality of all men. It has revealed to us how
 Hinduism is a religion of the accepted faith of the king and
 people, and how, after the commencement of the
 Christian era, it began to decay under the renewed
 exertions of Buddhism to assert their superiority and revive
 their old religion in the history of Kashmir, we find
 evidence of the force of the law which is the basis of
 the Hindu religion and Buddhism, in it we find allusions
 to the first Arabian invasion of Kashmir under the
 command of Muhammad bin Qasim, in it we read of the conquest
 of the Turshids, well versed in the tactics of war, who
 laid the foundation of the rule of the Turshids, who
 Kashmiri story is recorded in detail and described
 and lastly, in this history we read of the many conquests
 of the Turshids at the end of the eleventh century
 when Kāshmir and Kāshmir and all Northern India fell under
 the power of the followers of the prophet of Mecca.
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 scarcely be overestimated. (Nichols Review, 1880)

CHAPTER XIII

THE ADVENT OF ISLAM IN KASHMIR

BY

Abdul Qaiyum Rafiqi

Long before the first Muslim Sultanate, known as the Shah Mir dynasty, was established in Kashmir, Muslims and settled there. The process started as early as the eighth century¹ and was accelerated after the Shah Mir dynasty was established in 19339².

However, the Muslim invaders, first Arabs and then Turks, on many occasions, invaded Kashmir but failed to conquer it. In 713, when Muhammad bin Qasim, the Arab general, occupied Multan he marched against "the frontiers of Kashmir, called Panj Nahiyat."³ But the threat to Kashmir was removed for the time being as Muhammad was recalled by the Caliph Walid I (705-715) to his court.⁴

Later Hisham bin Amru'l-Taghlibi, the Arab governor of Sind, some time after 140/757-58,⁵ made an

1. Cf. 'Ali bin Hmaid Kufi, *Cheah-Nama*, Eng. tr. K. Mirza, p. 160.

2. See *infra*, pp. 12 ff.

3. *Chach-Nama*, p. 192.

In some copies it is "Panj Mahiyat" (cf. *Chach - Nama*, Eng. tr. H.M. Elliot, *History of India*, I, p. 144), which according to Elliot is situated near the upper course of the river Jehlum, thirty-after it debouches into the plains. *Ibid.*; I, p. 144, n.3.

4. Cf. *Chach-Nama*, pp. 193-4.

5. Cf. Elliot, *op. cit.*, I, p. 444.

attempt to conquer the Valley of Kashmir.⁶ But thanks to the protection offered by the mountain ramparts to that country, he failed to penetrate into the Valley.⁷

Although the mountains proved barriers to would be conquerors, they did not prevent adventurers and refugees from entering Kashmir. 'Ali bin Hamid Kufi, for example, states that Muhammad Alafi, an Arab mercenary who had served Dahir⁸ (d. 712), sought refuge in Kashmir.⁹ The ruler of Kashmir Candrapida, received him well and bestowed on him the territory of Shakalbar.¹⁰ After Alafi's death, his estate was inherited by one Jehm, who, according to Kufi, built many mosques there,¹¹ this means that a sizeable number of Muslims had by that time migrated to Kashmir.

In the early eleventh century, when the Turks invaded India, the Hindu rule of Kashmir was once again threatened, by the Muslim invader Mahmud of Ghazni (998-1030). Mahmud on two occasions, in 1014 and 1016, invaded Kashmir, but his efforts to penetrate into the

6. Balazuri, *Futuhu' I Buldan*, pp. 445-6

7. The Arab historian Balazuri (op. cit., p. 446), however, claims that Hisham conquered the valley. But this is supported by none of the Kashmiri sources. There is no other evidence that an Arab army ever entered Kashmir. What seems correct is that Hisham conquered the upper plains which frequently were attached to the Kingdom of Kashmir.

8. Chach-Nama, pp.55-6.

9. Ibid., p. 160.

10. Ibid., p. 160. Shakalbar or 'Shakalha' (cf. Elliot, op. cit., I, p. 178), is Identified by Cunningham with "Kuller-Kahar" in the Salt range, which at that time belonged to Kashmir. Cf. Archaeological Survey of India, II, p. 192 and V, 99. 79-85.

11. Chach-Nama, p. 169.

Valley were defied by the strong fortresses of Lokarko¹² and a timely snowfall.¹³

However, according to the statement of Abu'l-fazl Baihaqi,¹⁴ Mahmud while in pursuit of Narojaipal (Trilocanpal), who had received military assistance from Samgramraja, the ruler of Kashmir (1003-1028), plundered one of the valleys to the south Kashmir¹⁵ and converted a large number of people there to Islam.

Kalhana, the author of the Rajatarangini, who has also described this invasion of Mahmud, does not speak of any conversion. But from the interest which Mahmud exhibited in having non-Muslims converted to Islam, the statement of Baihaqi, although probably an exaggeration, should not be taken as entirely untrue.

It is also likely that, finding it difficult to cross the mountains to the plains of India, some of the soldiers of Mahmud might have stayed behind and settled in Kashmir.¹⁶ As it is after these Turkic invasions that

12. Loharkot or 'Lohkot' (cf. Abu'l-Fazal, Tarikh-i-Baihaqi, I, p. 270), is according to Stein (cf. R. Tk., II, pp. 299), in the modern Loharin (in the Punch Valley). Through Loharin the path leads to Tosmaidan pass, which since earlier times had formed one of the most-frequented routes from the western Punjab to Kashmir.

13. Tarikh-i-Baihaqi, I, pp. 270, 350-1.

14. Ibid. R. Tk., Eng. tr. M.A. Stein, I, pp. 270-1. See also Tarikh-i-Baihaqi, I, p. 270.

15. Stein identifies this place with "Tohi" in Punch near the border of present Kashmir Valley. Cf. R. Tk., I, p. 271n.

16. In 1016, after his second fruitless attempt to enter the Valley, Mahmud lost his way for some days on the return journey to Ghazna because of a heavy snowfall. Many of his soldiers lost their lives in the blizzard and he himself had a narrow escape from death; cf. Tarikh-i-Baihaqi, I, pp. 350-1.

Kalhana for the first time, in describing the reign of Harsa (1089-1111) refers to the presence of Turkic Muslim soldiers in Kashmir.¹⁷

Later we find that Bhiksacara (1120 – 1121) employed Turkic mercenaries to fight against Sussala,¹⁸ whom he had earlier dethroned.¹⁹ Likewise Jahasimha (1128-1149) used Muslim soldiers to crush rebellious chiefs.²⁰

From the accounts of Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, it appears that by the end of the thirteenth century there was a colony of Muslims in Kashmir. He says:

The people of the province [Kashmir] do not kill animals nor spill blood; so if they want to eat meat they get the Saracens who dwell among them to play the butcher.²¹

The Hindu rulers of Kashmir seem to have been Munificent and hospitable to these Muslim soldiers of fortune,²² who continued pouring into Kashmir down to the establishment of Muslim rule there. It was one of these adventurers, Shah Mir, who established the first Muslim Sultanate in Kashmir.

The Kashmiri and the Mughal historians recount different legends about the ancestry of Shah Mir. According to Janaraja, Shah Mir was the descendant of Partha²³

17. Cf. R. Tk., I, p. 357.

18. Ibid., II, p. 70.

19. Ibid., II, pp. 68-9.

20. Ibid., II, pp. 174-5.

21. H. Yule. Travels of Marco Polo. I, p. 167.

22. Cf. R. Tk., I, p. 357.

23. Muhibbu'l-Hassan wrongly says that Janaraja is silent in Shah Mir's ancestry (Sultans, p.43. n. 1). Janaraja gives Shah Mir's ancestry as : Partha, his son Babhruvahana, his scion Kurashaha (probably Khwur Shah), his son Taharala (Tahir) his son Shah Mir. R., Tj., Eng. tr., J.C. Dutt. (Kings of Kashmira, p. 15.

(Arjuna) of Mahabharatra fame. Abu'l-fazal, Nizamu'd-Din and Firishta also state that Shah Mir traced his descendant to Arjuna.²⁴ The basis of their account is Joharaja's Rajatarangini, which was translated into Persian by Mulla' Abdu'l Qadir Badauni, at Akbar's orders.²⁵

It is likely that either Jonaraja, in order to glorify the family of his patren (Sultan Zainu'l-Abidin, a lineal descendant of Shah Mir) or Shah Mir after coming to the throne, worked out an apocryphal genealogy connecting himself with the legendary heroes of the past. This was a common practice with rulers and dignitaries of those days. Even Sultan Ghihasu' d-Din Balban (1266-1286) claimed to have descended from the Sasanid rulers of Persia

According to some Persian chronicles of Kashmir, Shah Mir was a descendant of the rulers of Swat.²⁶ It is most probable that Shah Mir's ancestors were of Turkic or Persian origin and had migrated to Swat, where they enjoyed political power for some time.

Shah Mir arrived in Kashmir in 1313, along with his family, during the reign of Suhadeva (1301-1320), in whose service he entered.²⁷ Suhadeva granted him the village of Davarkunail, in the district of Baramula,²⁸ for his maintenance.²⁹ In subsequent years, by his tact and ability,

24. A.A., II, p. 184; T.A., Eng. tr. Brajendranath, III, pt. II. 633; Tarikh-i-Firishta, II, p. 337.

Nizamu'd-Din and Firishta give Shah Mir's ancestry as: Shah Mir, son of Tahir Al, son of Karshashab son of Nekruz who was a descendant of Arjuna.

25. Cf. Badauni. Muntakhabu'l-Tawarikh, pp.401-402.

26. B.S, f, 9b; T. Km., f. 91b; N.A..f. 31b; T. Az., p. 27

27. R.Tj,p.15;B.S.,f.9b;T.Az.,p.27;T.H.,Urdu,tr. M.Ibrahim,II,p. 143.

28. B.S., f. 10a. It is not possible to identify the village Davar-Kunail. But Baramula, the ancient "Varahmula" however is thirty-four miles to the west of Srinagar.

29. B.S., f. 10a. See also R. Tj., p. 15.

Shah Mir rose to prominence and became one of the important personalities of the time.³⁰ After the death of Udayanadeva, the brother of Suhadeva, he was able to assume the kingship himself and thus laid the foundation of permanent Muslim rule in Kashmir.

Dissensions among the ruling classes and foreign invasions were the two main factors which contributed towards the establishment of weak reigns and internal troubles. The Lavanyas and Damaras (the local chiefs) had become the most powerful element in the Valley.³¹ The strongholds of the lands of Kashmir had become hereditary possessions in the families of these chiefs.³² They continually rose in rebellion and prevented the growth of a strong centralized government.³³

Suhadeva, who came to the throne in 1301, seems to have played these chiefs one against the other and thereby was able to establish his authority over the whole of Kashmir.³⁴ But at the same time he alienated the Brahmans, the traditional official class, by imposing taxes on them.³⁵

30. Ibid., p. 15.

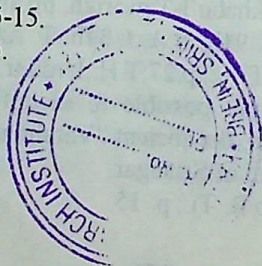
31. Cf. R. Tk., II, pp. 304ff., for the growth and activities of this class of people in Kashmir.

32. Long before we find that Lalitaditya (early 8th century) had warned his successors not to leave enough land with these chiefs and to punish them even if they would give no offence. For, if they should keep more wealth, they would become within no time formidable and strong enough to disobey the king; cf. R. Tk., p. 15.

33. Cf. R. Tj., pp. 5-15.

34. Cf. R. Tj., p. 15.

35. Ibid., p. 16.



Meanwhile in 1320, Zulju³⁶ or Zulqadr Khan,³⁷ at the head of a large army invaded Kashmir. The sources are not unanimous about the origin of Zulju. According to Jonaraja he was a "commander of the army of the great King Karmmasena."³⁸ It is not possible to identify the King Karmmasena. Elsewhere, however, Jonaraja calls Zulju "the king of the mlechchhas"³⁹ which means he was a Muslim.⁴⁰

Abu'l-Fazl is of the opinion that Zulji was the "Chief commander" of the ruler of Qandahar,⁴¹ whereas Nizamu'd-Din and Firshta call him the Mir-Bakhsh (paymaster general) of Qandahar.⁴²

Qandahar, at this time, was in the possession of the Kurt ruler Ghiyasu'd-Din, who was himself a tributary to the Ikhans of Persia.⁴³ It is unlikely that he would have sent an army to Kashmir, as he was himself by this time threatened by the invasion of prince Yasur.⁴⁴

36. B.S., f. 106; T. Km, f. 77b; T. Kh., f. 92b; N.A., f. 14a; T. Kk., f. 79a. Jonaraja calls him "Dalcha" (R. Tj., p. 16) and Abu'l-Fazal, Zizamu'd-din and Firishta call him "Dilju"; A.A., II, p. 184; T. A., III, pt. II, p. 637; Tarikh-I-Firishta, II, p. 338.

37. T. Ka., f. 55a; T. Az., p. 27; G.A., f. 99a; T.H., II, p. 144.

38. R. Tj., p. 16

39. Ibid., p. 60.

40. Muhibbu'l-Hasan, while accepting that Zulju was a Mongol rejects that he was a Muslim on the grounds that by that time only a few of the Mongols had accepted Islam (Sultans, p.34). But in fact by that time many Mongols including Ikhana Tegudar, Nauruz anGhazan Khan along with his court had accepted Islam. Even if only a few of the Mongols had accepted Islam by that time, that does mean that Zulju was not a Muslim.

41. A. A., II, p. 184.

42. T. A., III, pt. II, p. 637; Tarikh-I-Firishta, II, p. 346.

43. Cf. H. Howorth, History of Mongols, III, p. 569.

44. Ibid., pp. 590-1.

The Persian chronicles of Kashmir assert that Zulju was a Mongol from Turkistan.⁴⁵ This view seems to be correct. The Mongols not only repeatedly invaded Kashmir, previous to this time, but if we believe Rashidu'd-Din, they even succeeded in temporarily subjugating the country.⁴⁶

The chiefs did not come to the aid of Suhadeva, and he was left alone to face the invader. He tried to save his kingdom by paying a large sum of money to the Mongols, to withdraw from the country.⁴⁷ But this had the contrary effect of increasing Zulju's appetite for loot and plunder. Suhadeva himself fled to Kistwar,⁴⁸ leaving the people at the mercy of the invader.⁴⁹

The Mongols flogged, plundered and enslaved the people burnt down buildings and destroyed crops.⁵⁰ After a stay of eight months,⁵¹ Zulju left the Valley through Banihal pass,⁵² where he perished along with his prisoners in a heavy snowfall.⁵³ Famine was natural consequence of the wholesale destruction of the stores of grain and of standing crops by the invading army.⁵⁴

45. B.S., f. 10b; T. Km., f. 77b; T. Kh., ff. 92b-93a; N.A., f. 14a; T. Kh., f. 79a.

46. Tarikhul-Hind, p.22. See also Howorth, op. cit., III, pp. 184-5.

47. R. Tj., p. 16.

48. The ancient "Kashtavata" is to the south-east of Kashmir.

49. B.S., f. 11a; T. Kh. f. 93a; T. Ka., f. 55a; N.A. f. 14b; T.Az., p. 27; G.A., f. 99b; T. Kk., f. 79a-b; T.H., II, p. 144.

50. R. Tj., p.17; B.S., f. 11a; T. Kh., f. 55a-b; N. A., ff. 14b-15a; T. Az., pp. 27-8; T. Kh. f. 80a; H.T. II, p. 144.

51. B.S., f. 11b.

52. 9,200 ft. above the sea. This is the lowest depression in the chain of mountains which surround Kashmir on the south.

53. B.S., f. 11b-12a; T.Kh., f. 94a; N.A., f. 15b; T.Az., p. 28; T. Kk. F. 80a; T.H., II, pp.144-5.

54. R. Tj., p. 17; B.S., f. 11b.

Zulju's invasion proved a turning point in the history of Kashmir and contributed towards the establishment of Muslim rule there; for Rinchana rose to power in its aftermath. He was originally from Ladakh⁵⁵ where his father had been chief until he was killed by his enemies.⁵⁶ Rinchana, also fearing an attack on his life, sought refuge in Kashmir.⁵⁷ There he was employed by Ramchandra,⁵⁸ Suhadev's commander-in-chief,⁵⁹ who had shut himself up in the fort of Lar⁶⁰ during Zulji's invasion.⁶¹ After Zulji's departure, Ramchandra tried to establish his own authority,⁶² but Rinchana treacherously had him murdered and his family imprisoned and seized power himself.⁶³ Later he freed Rawanchandra and Kota Rani, the son and daughter of Ramchandra, and bestowed the territory of Lar on Rawan Chandra and himself married Kota Rani.⁶⁴

55. R. Tj., p. 16; B.S., f. 10b; T.Km., f. 77b; T. Kh., f. 96a; A. Ab., 50a-b; T. Ka., f. 55a; N.A., f. 14a; T.Kk., f. 80a; G.A., f. 101b.

56. R. Tj., p. 16; T. Ka., f. 55a.

57. R. Tj., pp. 16-7; B.S., f. 10b; T. Km., f. 77b; T. Kh., f. 96a; A.Ab., f. 50b; T. Ka., f. 55a; N. A., f. 14a; G.A., f. 101b.

58. B.S., f. 10b; T. Km. F. 77b; T. Ka, f. 55a; N.A., f. 14a; T.H., II, p. 45.

59. R. Tj., p. 18; B. S., f. 9b; T. Az., p. 27

60. Lar is the ancient "Lahara". The route to Ladakh and thence to Central Asia passes through this district which comprises the whole of the valley drained by the river Sind and its tributaries. Cf. R. Tk., II, pp. 17-8.

61. T. Az., p. 27. See also R. Tj., p. 18.

62. B.S., f. 12a; T. Km., f. 79b; T. Kh., f. 92 b; see also R. Tj., pp. 17-8.

63. R. Tj., p. 18; B.S., ff. 12b-13a; T.Km., f. 80a-b; T. Kh., f. 96a; T. Ka., f. 56a; N.A., f. 15b; T. Az., 9. 28; G.A., f. 101. a b; T. Kh., f. 80a; T.H., II, p. 146.

64. Ibid.

The Advent of Islam in Kashmir

The elevation of Rinchana from the position of a refugee to that of a sovereign clearly shows the anarchy and discord which prevailed in Kashmir at that time. Rinchana, however, proved an able ruler and restored peace prosperity to the country.⁶⁵

The most important event of his reign was his conversion to Islam which is variously recorded. According to Jonaraja, Rinchana wanted to become a Hindu, but the Brahman Devasvami refused to initiate him into Hinduism, on the grounds that he was a "Bhotta" (Tibetan Buddhists).⁶⁶

The story seems to have been invented by Jonaraja out of bitterness that Rinchana had accepted Islam. In fact if Rinchana wished to become a Hindu, there should have been no difficulty for him, espacially when he was a king. Even if Devasvami had refused to initiate Rinchana into Hinduism, he could have asked some other Brahman to do so. Long before Rinchana, Mihirakula of the white Hun stock is said to have been converted to Hinduism in Kashmir.⁶⁷ Moreover, conversion from Buddhism to Hinduism or vice versa was not a new thing.

According to a popular version of the story supported by most of the mediieval Muslim scholars to Kashmir Rinchana had accepted Islam because of "Diving grace."⁶⁸ It is said that after Rinchana came to the throne, he held discussions with both Hindu and Buddhist priests, in order to ascertain the "Truth", but none could satisfy him. Finally, he decided to accept the religion of the

65. Cf. R. Tj., p. 21.

66. Ibid., p. 21.

67. R. Tk., I, pp. 46-7.

68. B.S., f. 15a; T. Km. f. 83a; A. Ab., f. 45a; N.A., f. 16b; T. Az., p. 29; T.H. III, p. 4; T. K., p. 6.

first person whom he should see the next morning. That person was Saiyid Sharafu'd-Din, a Suhrawardi saint,⁶⁹ who at that time was offering prayers near the royal palace. Rinchana immediately went to him, and after enquiring about his religion, accepted Islam,⁷⁰

On the face of it, the story appears to have been concocted in order to glorify Islam and to establish the miraculous powers of Saiyid Sharafu'd-Din. It seems unconvincing that Rinchana, with his inquisitive mind, should have accepted Islam in this way.

What seems more probable is that Rinchana's conversion to Islam was prompted by political reasons. In the absence of co-operation from the Hindus, support for Rinchana's newly acquired kingdom could be had only from the Muslim in Kashmir. It is not, therefore, unlikely that Shah Mir, who in Joharaja's words was: "a lion among men,"⁷¹ persuaded Rinchana to accept Islam. Abu'l-Fazal, the Mughal historian, who made a careful study of the history of Kashmir, confirms the fact that Rinchana accepted Islam because of his deep intimacy and association with Shah Mir, whom he appointed him minister.⁷² The penetration of Islam into the neighbouring countries or Kashmir,⁷³ espacially the re-establishment of

69. See for his biography *infra*, ch. II.

70. B.S., f. 15a-b; T. Km., f. 83a-b; T. Kh., ff. 99a-100b; A-Ab., f. 45a; N.A., ff. 16b-17a; T.Az., pp. 29-30. Hasan and Miskin do not refer to the discussion which Rinchana is said to have held with Hindu and Buddhist priest.

71. R. Tj., p. 27.

72. A.A., II, p. 184.

73. In India Muslim rule had been firmly established some thirty years before Rinchana's accession to the throne by Shihabu'd - Din Muhammad Ghori. Kabul had been subdued (some time between 786 and 813), during Ma'munu'l-Rashid's governorship of Khurasan and its ruler had later accepted Islam; Futuhu'l-Buldan, p. 402.

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Islam in Persia by Ghazan Khan in 1245,⁷⁴ which was followed by the persecution of Buddhists and other non-Muslim,⁷⁵ might have also influenced Rinchana's decision to embrace Islam, particularly when Kashmir had so recently been invaded by the Mongols.⁷⁶

Thus Rinchana's conversion to Islam must be seen in the wider context, and not just as the result of either the Hindu refusal to take him into their fold⁷⁷ or of a chance meeting with Saiyid Sharafu'd-Din.⁷⁸

Rinchana or Sadru'd-Din, the Muslim name which he adopted died in 1323,⁷⁹ and soon after his death Hindu rule was once again established in Kashmir. His son Haidar, who was a minor,⁸⁰ was not declared the king,⁸¹ instead Kota Rani with the consent of Shah Mir³ recalled Udayanadeva, the brother of Suhadeva, and made him king.⁸² Udayanadeva eventually married Kota Rani⁸³ and in order to please Shah Mir he bestowed the territory of Kramarajya⁸⁴ and other districts on the latter's two sons 'Ali Shah and Jamshed.⁸⁵

74. Rashidu'd-Din, *Jamiu'l-Tawarikh*, II, pp. 900ff.

75. Cf. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 983-4; *Tarikh-i-Mubarak-I-Ghazani*, pp. 168-9.

76. See *supra*, pp. 7-8.

77. Some modern scholars accept the view of Jonaraja that Rinchana was not accepted by Hindus into their fold. Cf. Walter, "Islam in Kashmir", *Muslim World*, IV, 1914, p. 340; Srikanth Kaul, *Rajatarangini of Jonaraja*, Introduction, p. 72.

78. Cf. Muhibbu'l-Hassan, *Sultans*, p. 39.

79. Cf. R. Tj., p. 23.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 23; B.S., f. 16a.

81. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-4; *Ibid.*, f. 16b.

82. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 24; *Ibid.*, f. 16b.

83. He had fled to Swat during Zulju's invasion. B.S., f. 16b.

84. R. Tj., p. 24; B.S., f. 16b.

85. R. Tj., p. 24; B.S., f. 16b.

According to Jonaraja, royalty was debased when it passed from Rinchana to Udayanadeva.⁸⁶ Udayanadeva did not prove himself a competent ruler. He spent most of his time "in bathing, in penance, and in prayer,"⁸⁷ and paid very little attention to the administration.⁸⁸

Meanwhile Kashmir was once again threatened by a foreign invasion. According to Jonaraja the invader was "Achala",⁸⁹ whom "the lord of Mugdhapura" supported.⁹⁰ It is not possible to identify the latter. The Persian chronicles assert that it was an army of the Turks (*lashkar-i-turk*).⁹¹ Modern scholar⁹² have not identified the Turks of Persian chronicles, but it seems that they were Mongols who had previously invaded the Valley more than once.⁹³

However, Udayanadeva fled to Ladakh, leaving Kota Rani to face the invader.⁹⁴ With the help of Shah Mir and Bhikshna,⁹⁵ a Hindu noble, she repulsed the enemy⁹⁶

86. The Valley of Kashmir has from early times been divided into two great parts—"Kramarajya" and "Madavarajya" (cf. R. Tk., II, p. 436). "Kramarajya" the modern Kamaz is that part which is to the west and south-west of Srinagar.

87. R. Tj., p. 24

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid., p. 25. Persian chronicles call him "Urdil" or "Urwin". T.Kh., f 89b; T. Kh., f. 58b; T. Az., p. 32; G. A., f. 107b; T.H., II, p. 150.

91. R. Tj., p. 25.

92. B.S., f. 17a; T. Kh., f. 89b; T. Ka., f. 58b; T. Az., p. 32; G.A., f. 107; T.H. II, p. 15.

93. Cf. Sufi. Kashir, I, p. 128; Muhibbu'l-Hassan. Sultans, 9. 41.

94. Cf. Tarikh u'l-Hind, p. 22. See also Howorth, History of the Mongols, III, pp. 184-5.

95. R., Tj., p. 25; B.S., f. 17a; T. Ka., f. 53b; G.A., f. 107b.

96. Ther Persian chronicles call him "Pacha Bat Kakapuri".

After the enemy withdrew, Udayanadeva returned and regained the throne, but his cowardly flight had greatly impaired his prestige.⁹⁷

His relations with Shah Mir also did not remain cordial.⁹⁸ Udayanadeva began to suspect the loyalty of Shah Mir, who because of the heroic stand against the invader, had become exceedingly popular with the people.⁹⁹ This had made him politically ambitious¹⁰⁰ and, as Jonaraja says, he "did not deem the king even as grass."¹⁰¹

Shah Mir, in order to strengthen his position, had already taken steps to win over the leading chiefs of the country to his side. He bestowed on them his daughter and grand-daughters in marriage,¹⁰² and made large gifts to them.¹⁰³ Thus he was waiting for an opportunity to assume

97. B.S., f. 17a; T. Kh., ff. 84b-85a; T. Ka., f. 56b; N.A., f. 20b; T.Az., 9. 32; G.A., f. 107b; T.H., II. P. 150.

Jonaraja gives contradictory statements. At one place he says that "Achalā" sent his army back as Kota Rani and others promised him that after doing so, he would be declared the king, but was later imprisoned; (R. mj., p. 25). Later he states that "Achalā", like "Dalchā" (Zulju), devastated the whole country. R. Tj., p. 26.

98. R. Tj., p. 25 B.S., f. 17a; T. Ka., f. 58b; C.A., f. 107b.

99. Cf. R. Tj., p. 26.

100. Cf. R. Tj., p. 25; B.S., f. 17a; T. Ka., f. 58b; G.A., f. 07b.

101. Cf. R. Tj., p. 27.

102. Ibid., p. 26.

103. Shah Mir had married his own daughter ("Guhava") to Kotaraja of "Baringa" (probably the modern village of Breng in the district of Anantnag). And the daughter of his son 'Ali Sher and that of Jamshed were given in marriage to Lusta, the chieftain of "Sankarapura" (modern Patan, in the district of Baramulla; cf. R. Tk., I, p. 206n), and Telak, the chieftain of "Bangila" (modern Bangil in Sopur), respectively; cf. R. Tj., pp. 26-7. See also B.S., f. 16b.

the kingship himself.

The opportunity came soon, when Kota Rani, after the death of Udayanadeva in 1338, took the reins of government in her own hands.¹⁰⁴ Realising how ambitious Shah Mir was,¹⁰⁵ she raised Bhikshana to prominence as a counterpoise to him,¹⁰⁶ and transferred the capital from Srinagar, where Shah Mir had considerable following, to Andarkot.¹⁰⁷

The rise of Bhikshana to power was an open challenge to Shah Mir. However, he did not make his feelings public,¹⁰⁸ but feigned illness, and "caused it to be known that his end was near."¹⁰⁹ Kota Rani sent Bhikshana, apparently, to see Shah Mir,¹¹⁰ but in fact to find out the real facts. Shah Mir took the advantage of the opportunity and removed his political rival by assassinating him in his own house.¹¹¹

Later Shah Mir sent a proposal of marriage to Kota Rani. She rejected it,¹¹² perhaps thinking it beneath her dignity to marry a man who had been in her service. Shah Mir then, with the help of the chiefs, successfully besieged the fort of Andarkot. Kota Rani surrendered and accepted Shah Mir's marriage proposal.¹¹³

104.R. Tj., p. 22.

105.R.Tj., p. 28; B.S., p. 17a-b.

106. According to Jonaraja, Kota Rani out of fear of Shah Mir had even concealed the death of her husband for four days; R. Tj., p. 28.

107. Ibid.

108. Ibid., p. 31; B.S., f. 17b. Andarkot is seventeen miles north of Srinagar, on the left bank of the river Jehlum.

109. "Fire manifests itself by heat and smoke," writes Jonaraja, "but no sign of anger manifested itself in that wise man [Shah Mir]". R. Tj., p. 29.

110. Ibid., p. 29.

111. R. Tj., p. 29.

112. Ibid. see also B.S., f. 17b.

113. R. Tj., p. 21; B.S., f. 17b.

Shah Mir suspected her loyalty, as she had married him under pressure. He therefore imprisoned her¹¹⁴ and ascended the throne himself in 1339,¹¹⁵ under the title of Sultan Shamsu'd-Din.¹¹⁶

Shah Mir's coup firmly established the Muslim rule in Kashmir. The details of the administrative machinery created by Shah Mir are not known. What Jonaraja says of his reign is that he "assuaged the troubles of Kashmir and changed its condition."¹¹⁷

Revolutionary changes in the administration were not possible at that time. The Muslim community of Kashmir was in a minority, with no foreign contact or foreign support. The power remained as before in the hands of the Hindu chiefs, with whose help Shah Mir had established himself on the throne.

However, Shah Mir, in order to increase the number of his supporters and to check the ambitious chiefs, who were the main cause of confusion and disorder in the regimes proceeding him, patronised¹¹⁸ these families for the Chaks¹¹⁹ and Marges who were of indigenous origin.¹²⁰ Jonaraja says that Shah Mir made gifts to certain chiefs.¹²¹

114. Ibid., pp. 31-32; Abid, f. 17b.R. Tj., p. 432.

115. Cf. Ibid., p. 32. Abdu'l-Fazal gives Shah Mir's date of accession as 742/1341-2 A.A., II, p. 185.

116. R. Tj., p. 32; B.S., f. 18a; T. Az., p. 33.

117. R. Tj., p. 32.

118. Tarikh-i-Firishta, II, p. 338; THE., II, p. 151.

119. The Chaks, under their leader Lanker Thak, had migrated to Kashmir from Dardistan during the reign of Suhadeva B.S., f. 10a-b; N.A., f. 22b; T.H., II, p. 143.

120. Cf. T. Ks., ff. 7a-b; 8b. See also. W.R. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 306.

121. R. Tj., p. 22.

It seems that Shah Mir assigned iqta's¹²² to his supporters on the pattern of the Turkic Sultans of Delhi

The administration was modelled on the system prevalent in other Muslim countries, only after a large number of Muslim saints and Scholars from Persia and Central Asia had migrated to Kashmir. There were men of talent among them who could rule the government on the lines of the Saljuqi Sultans of Persia and the Trukic Sultans of Delhi.

22. The system of iqta's emerged in the 10th century and crystallized by the time of the Saljuqs. Nizamu'l-Mulk, in his *Siyasa-Nama*, gives a detailed description of the iqta's. They were probable of two types, the military iqta's were only the assignment of the revenue and not of the proprietary rights or administrative powers. In return, the holders of such iqta's were required to recruit the army, which was to be paid from the revenue realised from the iqta's, for the military need of the country. See for full details, J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, V, pp. 81-4, 198-9, 231-9, 518-21.

CHAPTER XIV

KASHMIR UNDER THE CHAKS [1554-1586 A.D.]

By
G.L.Kaul

The Chaks were unknown people. They came from the country of the *Dards* and resembled *Marhattas*. During *Raja Simhadev's* reign, as mentioned earlier, there lived a certain *Lankar Chak* who secured a job in the king's service. With the advance of time his clan grew in number and influence. The first *Chak* is said to have been born of a *Kashmiri* woman and an amorous demon. The lively pools of *Trigam* were their frequent haunts. "*Raman Kan*" are the arrows aimed by Gods at them. There are other stories equally fantastic current about them in folklore. The *Chaks* were *Shias*. *Ghazi Khan* (1554 A.D.) was the first ruler. He was a descendant of *Landar Chak*. He converted a number of *Hindus* to *Shia* religion. About seven rulers of this line ruled upon the throne of *Kashmir*. They were petty kings, one and all, except one of them who founded *Gulmarg* and another, *Hassan Chak*, give his daughter in marriage to *Saleem*, the future *Jehangir*. *Akbar* sent a huge army against the *Chaks* under the command of *Mirza Kazmi* (the first invasion came

under *Raja Bhagwandas*). He came through *Rajouri* and defeated the *Chaks* in 1586 A.D. Below is given a table showing the line of succession :

Ghazi Chak	...	1554-1563 A.D.
Hassan Shah	...	1563-1570 A.D.
Ali Shah	...	1570-1579 A.D.
Yusaf Shah	...	1579-1580 A.D.
Sayed Mubarak Khan	...	1580 six months and two days
Lohar Shah	...	1580-1581 A.D.
Yusaf Shah	...	1581-1585 A.D.
Yakub Shah	...	1585-1586 A.D.

Internecine wars were a special feature of this period which covers about one-third of the century. None of these kings attempted any constructive programme. The *Chaks* would employ any means, fair and foul, to get revenue. What they had inherited they delivered to the great *Moghul*. The fall of the *Dynasty* was inglorious indeed and it eclipsed their meteoric rise to power. *Magre* and *Tsak*, the former natives and the later domiciled foreigners, made a bid for power until the coming of the *Moghuls*.

The only thing they could do was to allow *Shias* to gain some influence. People as a whole remained as backward as before. With the *Chaks*, however, closed the independence of *Kashmir*. Even *Kashmir* prevented subjugation of the country by *Tuglaqs*. According to *Abdul Fazal* it is inside cause that brought success to Akbar, denied even to *Babar* and *Humayun*. *Lalitaditya* had warned *Kashmir* rulers against raising troops from a single district.

From a perusal of its history, *Kashmir* appears to be a land of hospitality. *Shah Mir*, the founder of the *Shah Miri* dynasty, and *Lankar* or *Langar Chak*, the progenitor of the *Chak* dynasty, were well received. Though *Lankar* or *Langar* himself had not the distinction of wearing a regal crown, his descendants gradually so strengthened themselves that they were able to exert very great influence on the politics of *Kashmir*: to enthrone and dethrone kings, and finally to wield the sceptre.

The history of the *Chaks*, to whom a *Dardic* origin is ascribed, bears a strange resemblance to that of the *Marathas*. (For the history of the word *Dard*, see Chapter VIII, section *Kashmiri* language.) The *Chaks*-called the *Chakrecas* or *Chakras* in the *Kashmir Chronicles*-gradually rose from obscurity, and forced their existence even upon the attention of a wise ruler like *Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin***, whose penetrating eye enabled him to predict the sovereignty they finally acquired. They sought and entered service with the nobles. They thus strengthened and consolidated their position till, at last, they were able to assert themselves under the redoubtable leadership of *Kaji* or *Qazi Chak* (called by the *Chronicles* *Kanchana Chakreca* or *Kacha Chakra*) and became an important factor in the politics of *Kashmir*.

It is noteworthy that the rise of the *Chaks* synchronizes with their conversion to the *Shi'ite* doctrine promulgated by *Mir Shams-ud-Din Irai*, whom *Malik Haidar Chadura* calls *Shaikh Shams-ud-Din Muhammad*.

Irai in the first reign of *Sultan Fateh Shah* when *Hussain Chak* became a *Shia*. And *Hussain's* descendants continued to be *Shias*. To clarify the link it may be stated that *Lanker* or *Langar Chak's* fourth descendant, named *Pandu Chak*, had flourished as a feudal lord in the time of *Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin*. *Pandu* had two sons, *Himmat* and *Hussain*. *Hussain*, as we said, became *Shia* while *Himmat* remained *Sunni*. *Himmat*, however, had no sovereignty among his descendants, though they occupied high positions in civil and military employ. *Shams*, *Rigi*, *Masud*, and *Bahram* are notable instances in this line of *Himmat*. It would be incorrect to say that change over to *Shiism* by *Hussain's* line had fired the *Chaks* with an ambition for the throne. History has not yet proved it. The fact must not, however, be omitted that they were already strong enough to interfere in the trend of events and exert their influence when internecine war between *Muhammad Shah* and *Fath Shah* gave them time to make hey.

All through their career, either as partisans of a particular king, or as wielders of regal authority, they did not give much promise of their statesmanship. They showed narrow-mindedness too. No *Shah Miri* showed such religious bias against *Shia's* as *Ghazni Chak* and *Hussain Chak* displayed against the *Sunnis* of Kashmir.

The word *Chak* is written by *Sir Wolseley Haig* as *Chak* but the more correct *Kashmiri* pronunciation is something like *Tsak* or *Tschak*.

1. Lt. Newall's *A Sketch of the Muhammadan History of Kashmir*.
J.A.S.B., No. 5, -1854, page. 146

The bitterness of feeling resulting in a number of serious clashes between *Shia's* and *Sunnis*-and their number is put down at eighteen earned for the *Shia* of *Kashmir* the notoriety of *Be-Pir* like the *Sunni* of *Balkh*. The *Chaks* were cleyer at intrigue too. But it must be admitted that they were good soldiers on the battlefield. Their exploits cannot be easily forgotten. Their patriotism and martial spirit were a great advantage to *Kashmir*. One can, therefore, emphatically suggest that but for them, *Kashmir* would have fallen an easy prey to the ambition of *Haidar Dughlat* or *Babur* and his immediate successor, in rivalry of whom the *Chak* rulers took the title of *Badshah* in place of *Sultan* adopted by the *Shah Miris*.

GHAZI CHAK

[962 to 970 A.H. or 1555 to 1563 A.C.]

It is not necessary to recapitulate the circumstances, which installed *Ghazi Chak* as the first ruler of his line. He started his regal career with discretion, and devoted his attention to the removal of evils, which had, for long, paralysed the administration of the country.

Ghazi Chak re-conquered or annexed such territories as had fallen off from the kingdom. In this attempt, he attained marked success in recovering *Skardu*, *Gilgit*, *Kishtwar*, *Pakhli* and *Mangli* (near *Pakhli*), besides bringing into subjection the chief of the *Gakkhars*. In order to ensure efficient administration of these territories, - he appointed experienced and intelligent governors to control them.

[*Ladakh* or *Ladag* or *Great Tibet* is one of the most elevated regions of the earth. Cultivation is sparse and is carried on uplands ranging from 9,000 to 14,000 feet high. The climate is very dry and healthy and the air is invigorating. There is a remarkable absence of thunder and lightning. *Leh* is the only place of importance. The people style themselves *Bhots*. With the exception of one village of *Shia Musalmans* in *Chhachkot* and of the *Arghuns* or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of *Leh*, is *Buddhist* among whom polyandry prevailed till recent years; it is now stopped by legislation. The *Arghuns* are the result of the union between *Ladakhi* women and *Kashmiris* or *Yarqandis*. There are also some Turki caravan drivers and *Dogras*. In the waterless wastes of sand, says *Major Gompertz* (*Magic Ladakh*, 1928 page

45) are to be found the remains of old towns, of old civilizations, paintings and writings in scripts whose very names are unknown.

Baltistan, or Little Tibet, is a tract under the *Wazir-i-Wazarat* of *Ladakh*. The rainfall is about 6 inches in the year. The air is dry and bracing. The snowfall is often considerable and is of great importance to the villages which depend on the snow for their irrigation. The old rulers of *Baltistan* were known as *Gialpos* or *Rajas*. *Ali Sher Khan* built the fort which lies in the tahsil of the same name which is an important tract of *Baltistan*. In the early seventeenth century, *Ali Mir*, chief of *Skardu*, successfully invaded *Baltistan*. The *Baltis* are of the same stock as the *Ladakhis*.

Though *Ladakh* and *Baltistan* are geographically similar, and their people ethnologically the same, the *Baltis* are generally *Muslims* while the *Ladakhis* are *Buddhists*.

Tibet proper, the land of the *Lamas*, is called *Tibet* only.]

Ghazi was a just but somewhat stern ruler. In meting out justice, he showed no compassion even to his kith and kin. Once a servant belonging to his son, *Haidar Khan*, plucked '*unnab*' (fruit of the *jujube* tree) while accompanying the *Sultan*. The *Sultan* observed this act of pilfering, and had the delinquent's hands cut off, a punishment which both grieved and incensed *Haidar Khan*. Later on, when *Ghazi Chak* sent *Muhammad Malik*, the youth's uncle, to admonish him for the sullenness he had displayed, the youth, in a fit of rage, stabbed his uncle. On this, *Ghazi Chak* caused him to be hanged, and his remains were exhibited on the gibbet for eight days.

Ghazi's sternness roused his own tribesmen against him. *Nusrat Chak* and *Yusuf Chak*, sons of *Rigi Chak*, rose

in rebellion against him, but were successfully repressed. Later on, *Shankar Chak*, *Bahram Chak* and *Fath Chak*, sons of *Rigi Chak*, -Who by the way, had seven or more sons raised the standard of revolt at *Sopor*, but were defeated and dispersed. Then, *Shams Raina*, son of *Idi Raina* and the grandson of *Musa Raina*, whom we met under *Fath Shah* in his second term on pages 191-2, proceeded to *Delhi* to seek help from *Humayun*. Unfortunately for him, however, *Humayun* died as the result of a fall on the day of his arrival. On his return, he met *Abu Ma'ali*, *Humayun's* favourite, who had been driven out by *Bairam Khan*, and had found refuge in the mountains of *Gakkhar*. *Shams Raina* induced him to invade *Kashmir*. Encouraged by the previous success of *Mirza Haidar Dughlat*, *Abul Ma'sli* proceeded to invade *Kashmir* without hesitation. *Ghazi Chak*, however, won over *Sayyid Ibrahim Baihaqi* and his followers to his side, and successfully defeated the invaders. *Shams Raina's* brother *Muhammad Raina* next year led a joint insurrection of the *Rainas* and some disaffected *Chaks*, but sustained a defeat.

In 1559, *Ghazi's* possession of the throne was again disturbed by *Qara Bahadur*, cousin of *Mirza Haidar Dughlat*, whom *Yusuf Chak* the son of *Rigi Chak* and others had induced to fight. It is stated that *Qara Bahadur* took 10,000* horses with him. The battle took place in the *Rajauri* mountains. *Ghazi Chak* advanced in person to meet the enemy, and promised his men a gold coin for each head captured. The King was completely victorious, and 7,000 heads were presented to him after the engagement. It is said that he exceeded this promise and disbursed two gold coins per head.

Ghazi Chak was an able and energetic ruler. He was also a poet. *Malik Haidar Chadara's History of Kashmir*,

page 20. After reigning for over eight years, he abdicated the throne in favour of his brother *Hussain Chak* on account of a very severe form of leprosy which prostrated him for about two years after which he died.

Some time after his abdication, he divided equally his effects and gave half to his son and other descendants, while he sent the other half to the merchants for sale. The price he demanded for these effects from the merchants was so exorbitant that they complained to *Hussain Shah*, who on taking the matter up with *Ghazi Chak*, so angered him that he sought to re-establish himself but was cleverly checkmated by *Husain Shah*. Some time later, *Husain Shah*, for reasons of personal safety and removing a rival from his path, thought of putting out the eyes of *Ahmad Khan*, *Ghazi Chak*'s son. *Ghazi* naturally interceded for his son but failed, and died of a broken heart. He had already severely suffered from virulent leprosy as stated above.

* *J.A.S.B.*, No.5, 1854, page 426.

* *Malik Haidar Chadura's History of Kashmir*, page 201.

HUSAIN SHAH CHAK

[971 to 978 A.H. or 1563 to 1570 A.C.]

Husain Shah ascended the throne in 970 A.H.(1563 A.C.). *Khusrav-i-Adl* is the chronogram of his accession. He was, comparatively speaking, a mild ruler, less bigoted than his brother, and solicitous about the well-being of his subjects. He regulated the efficient organization of his state finances. In the year 972 A.H. (1564 A.C.), *Husain Shah* sent his brother *Shankar Chak* as governor of *Rajauri*. The brother gathered an army and rebelled to seize the throne for himself. He was defeated by the minister *Malik Chadura*, our historian, and the king's younger brother '*Ali Khan Chak*. This victory secured considerable favours for *Malik Muhammad Naji* from the king.

The trouble, it appears, did not end here. Next year, in 973 A.H. (1565 A.C.), the *Badshah* happened to be hunting at *Vethnar*, in *Tahsil Islamabad (Anantnag)*. In his absence, *Fath Chak*, called also *Khwaja Fath Baqqal* and surnamed *Khan-uz-Zaman*, a minister of the state, rebelled with his son *Bahadur Khan*. *Fath Chak* attacked the king's palace to seize the treasure and proclaim himself king.

Malik Muhammad Naji who had been left in charge of the palace was, however, able by recourse to a clever stratagem to beat back *Khan-uz-Zaman*, and to kill his son. In the course of this contest, *Masud Nayak*, an officer of the king's bodyguard, made himself conspicuous by his gallant and fearless behaviour. *Khan-uz-Zaman* was taken prisoner. On the *Badshah's* return he was led in chains to his presence. The *Badshah* rewarded *Masud Nayak* with the

title of *Mubariz Khan* and the pargana of *Phak* on the Dal as his Jagir or assignment. *Khan-uz-Zaman* was, of course, executed for his treachery.

Mubariz Khan, however, became rather proud of his power in course of time. The king had therefore real cause not only to be jealous but also to be afraid of him. On some pretext, the king imprisoned him, and appointed *Malik Luli Lon** in his place. Luli, too, did not enjoy his new office for long. He was detected in an attempt to embezzle forty thousand kharwar of shali or unhusked rice and was dismissed. *Ali Koka* was then appointed prime minister.

In 976 A.H. (1568 A.C.) *Yusuf Mandav*, a *Shia* fanatic, attacked and somewhat seriously wounded *Qazi-ul-Quzzat Sayyid Habibullah Khwarizmi*, a *Sunni Khatib* (or *Sermonizer*) of the *Jama Masjid*, who was saved from being killed by *Maulana Mir Kamal-ud-Din*, his son-in-law. We shall later meet *Mir Kamal-uf-Din* as *Mulla Kamal* the teacher of *Allama 'Abdul Hakim Sialkoti*, *Mujaddid Ali-i-Sani* and *Allami Sa'dullah Khan* in Chapter VIII under "*Men of Learning*." The king issued orders for *Yusuf's* arrest. A jury of divines consisting of *Mulla Shams-ud-Din Almas* (known also as *Mulla Yusuf*) and *Mulla Firuz Ganai* appointed by the king, had *Yusuf Mandav* stoned to death.

Soon after this, there arrived in *Kashmir* an embassy from *Akbar's* court led by *Mirza Muhammad Muqim* and *Mir Yaqub*, both of *Shia* persuasion. The *Badshah* welcomed them in person, and had his own tent pitched for their reception at *Hurapor.** They then proceeded by boat to *Srinagar*, and were lodged in the house of *Husain Magre*, a nobleman. *Mirza Muqim* committed an act of great indiscretion by interfering in the matter of the stoning to death of *Yusuf* the *Shia* fanatic, referred to above. Purely an internal affair, it should have

been settled by *Husain Shah* himself. But unfortunately *Husain Shah* absented himself from the city on this occasion to escape the clamour of the contending *Shia*'s and *Sunni* parties whose passions were now roused against each other. *Mirza Muqim* instigated making over the divenes, who had acted as judges in *Yusuf's* case, to *Fath Khan*, a *Shia* official. *Fath Khan* had them executed, and dragged their dead bodies through the streets. After his return to the city, *Husain Shah*, in his anxiety to avoid misrepresentation by *Mirza Muqim* at the court of *Akbar*, and lest the Emperor should be displeased at *Husain Shah's* own hesitation to punish the divines, gave them suitable presents. *Husain Shah* also agreed to given his own daughter for the emperor's son *Salim* to wed. A deputation was successful in rousing *Akbar* against *Mirza Muqim* and against *Husain Shah Chak*. On *Mirza Muqim's* return, *Akbar* had him executed for religious bigotry, and sent back *Husain Shah's* presents. The Emperor also sent back *Husain Shah's* daughter. *Husain Shah* received such a shock at *Akbar's* insult that, as a result of it as well as of his son's death, he did not survive more than a few months. *Cuka*, however, states that *Husain Shah* died of epilepsy.

Hussain Shah seems to have had, in general, very catholic views. He set aside three days in the week to listen to the discourses of *Muslim* and *Hindu* religions scholars and itinerant friars. The remaining three days he devoted to the inspection of the army, to hunting, music and dealing with justice. *Hussain Shah* also possessed a taste for poetry. It is related that a poet, who usually received from him gifts and a robe of honour every 'Id', sent him a word of appreciation.

* *Hurapur* village in the *Pir Panjal* valley is about seven miles south-west of *Shupian*. The ancient name of *Hurapor* was *Curapura*. *Hurapor* is the entrance and exit to and from *Kashmir* towards *Rajouri*. . Population 1535.

It was the set practice of *Hussain Shah*, after Friday prayers, to order his treasurer to put aside a sum which he gave away in charity. *Cuka* says: "The goddess of wealth, though insulted by large expenditures, went with him." The *Tabagat-i-Akbari* says, *Hussain Shah* founded a college and lived in the society of pious and learned men in its precincts, and he allotted them the pargana of *Zaina-por* as their jagir.

Before he died, the nobles at the court began to intrigue about the next successor. Some favoured a choice between *Hussain Shah's* brother, '*Ali Khan*' and *Sayyid Mubarak Baihaqi*, while others preferred to have the youthful prince *Yusuf Khan* as their next king. '*Ali Khan* retired to *Sopor* and returned with an army. *Daulat Chak* then advised the king to send the royal insignia to '*Ali Khan* to avoid bloodshed. The king followed his advice, abdicated on account of epilepsy in 1570 A.C., and thence forward remained at *Zain-por* where he passed away in 1572 A.C.

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1. *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by *Malik Haidar Chadura*, page 203.
 2. *Ibid.*, page 202.

ALI SHAH CHAK

[978 to 987 A.H. or 1570 to 1579 A.C.]

Ali Khan ascended the throne as *Ali Shah Chak*. Like his brother *Hussain Shah*, *Ali Shah* too was a just and wise ruler. He showed great respect towards saints and friars.

It appears on the testimony of a great *Sunni* leader, the lieutenant of *Sultan-ul-Arifin Shaikh Hamza Makhdum*, namely, *Baba Daud Khaki*, that this ruler was good to the *Sunnis*.

An impostor from Iran dressed in the garb of a darvish and named *Shah Arif* came to *Kashmir*. He claimed relationship with the reigning *Safavi* king, but was found out.

Soon after his accession, *Ali Shah* put an end to all feuds among his nobles. He appointed *Sayyid Muhammad Mubarak Baihaqi*, who was a *Sunni*, as his Prime Minister. *Sayyid Muhammad Mubarak Baihaqi* whom we have known in the course of the struggle between *Muhammad Shah* and *Fath Shah*. *Sayyid Muhammad Mubarak* was the son of *Sayyid Ibrahim Baihaqi*. These *Baihaqis* descended from *Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqi*, the father-in-law of *Badshah* and had migrated to *Kashmir* during the time of *Sultan Sikandar* from *Baihaq* a district to the North-West of *Nishapur* in *Iran*. They took a very prominent part in the politics of *Kashmir* during the days of the Later *Shah-Miris*.

[*Sayyid Mubarak Baihaqi*, *Ali 'Shah's* prime minister, a brave man indeed, seems to have been a person

singularly disposed towards peace, and settling affairs by tact. He showed great wisdom on several occasion: notably in securing the king's pardon for *Ali Chak*, son of *Nauruz Chak*, who had been imprisoned for rebellion. He also restored peace and amity between the monarch and his son *Yusuf Khan* who had killed, in an altercation, *Ibrahim Khan*, popularly known as *Ibba Khan*, the son of *Ghazi Chak*.]

Bahadur Singh, the *Raja* of *Kishtwar*, who had ascended the gadhi in 1570 A.C. was defeated twice in succession. After his first defeat in 1572 A.C., the *Raja* offered to the Badshah's grandson, *Yaqub Khan*, his sister *Shankar Devi*. This lady, later on, gained the sobriquet of *Fath Khatun* and subsequently took her husband, when he was defeated by *Akbar*, to *Kishtwar*. The *Raja* also promised to maintain the annual tribute. When he was defeated the second time in 1574, the *Raja* gave his son *Narain Singh* as hostage, and renewed his pledge for payment of tribute. The same year, *Ali Shah* received *Qazi Sadr-ud-Din* and *Maulana Ishqi*, *Akbar's* Ambassadors, with a message of matrimonial alliance. He thereupon sent his niece, *Hussain Shah's* daughter, who had previously been sent back by *Akbar*, along with presents. He also included *Akbar's* name in the Friday sermon and struck coin in he Emperor's name, (indication that he owned *Akbar* as his suzerain).

Haider Khan and *Salim Khan*, sons of *Nazuk Shah*, allied themselves with certain nobles of *Hindustan* and proceeded to invade *Kashmir* in 1575 A.C. *Ali Shah* sent his nephews, *Lohur Chak* and *Muhammad Chak*, against the enemy. *Muhammad Chak*, cleverly as a mere matter of show and to hoodwink the adversary, took *Lohur Chak* prisoner, and boldly joined the enemy. Finding the earliest

opportunity he turned the tables on *Salim Khan* and put him to the sword, at which *Haidar Khan* fled. Thus ended this final attempt of *Shah Mir's* descendants to regain the throne.

In 984 A.H. (1576 A.C.) *Kashmir* suffered from a famine which lasted for three years. Food had become so scarce that, at times, people actually stooped to cannibalism. *Zaiti Chak*, popularly known as *Zait Shah*, was a zealous darvesh and a disciple of *Shaikh Hamza Makhdum*. When *Ali Shah* asked *Zaiti* how long the famine was to last, *Zaiti* frankly told him that the cessation of famine should synehrenize with his death. The king met his death while playing polo in the palm of the "*Idgah*", as the pommel of his saddle entered his stomach(1). Before his death, however, he saw his son, *Yusuf*, crowned king to prevent *Abdal Khan Chak*, his own brother, from creating any mischief. *Abdal Khan Chak* was eventually killed by *Sayyid Mubarak Baihaqi*, the *Vazir-i-Azam*.

YOSUF SHAH CHAK (I)

[987 A.H. or 1579 A.C.]

Yusuf Shah continued to have *Sayyid Mubarak Baihaqi* as his Prime Minister. But the king abandoned himself to the career of a voluptuary, which so estranged his Minister that he resigned his post. *Muhammad Bat* was appointed in his place, and the king continued indifferent to the State.

The nobles banded themselves together and sought help from *Sayyid Mubarak Baihaqi* who advised them to avoid rebellion. At the same time, he sent word to the king through *Baba Khalil*, a *Shia* divine, requesting him to treat the insurgents mildly in order that the revolt may not grow in volume. The king exhibited a lack of diplomacy when he asked *Sayyid Mubarak Baihaqi*, on a pain of death, to handover the insurgents on shains to him. It was both a direct affront and a challenge which the *Sayyid* accepted readily.

Malik Muhammad Naji advised the king to be generous in order to win over to his side even his opponents. But to this *Yusuf* would not listen. On the other hand, he dispatched soldiers under two *Sardars*, *Habib Khan Chak* and *Muhammad Khan Chak* to fight *Sayyid Mubarak Baihaqi*. *Malik Muhammad Naji* lost his son in this contest. The king too lost his throne. *Malik Naji* pined and died within a few weeks. *Yusuf* relinquished the insignia of royalty and he took himself to the mountains of

Brinal-Lamar between *Tahsil Kulgam* and the *Pir Pantasal* range.

[*Sayyid Mubarak Baihaqi* is known in *Kashmir* history as *Sayyid Mubarak Khan Baihaqi*, the title of *Khan* being applicable in *Kashmir* to those notables who were concerned with the control of the army, and to princes of the royal blood. *Khan* may be supposed to be, more or less, somewhat analogous to *Duke* in *English* usage except that a dukedom is hereditary but not a khanate in *Kashmir* in that sense.]

C.J.Rodgers, J.A.S.B., 1885, page 135.

The Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Malik Haidar Chadura,
page 217.

SAYYID MUBARAK KHAN BAIHAQI **[986 A.H. or 1578 A.C.]**

Sayyid Mubarak, now installed as a ruler, started his short regime in a somewhat unceremonious way, rather Lenin-like in a socialist manner. He broke up the crown and divided its gems amongst the poor. His manifest disregard of his nobles, however, seriously offended them. They plotted for the return of *Yusuf Shah*. *Sayyid Mubarak* however, sent *Daud Mir*, a courtier, with an invitation to the exiled king, who sent his sons, *Yaqub Khan* and *Ibrahim Khan*, intending to follow them himself. But he was secretly warned against this by *Abdal Bat*, the commander of forces, who explained that the invitation was a ruse played by *Sayyid Mubarak*. Eventually, however, he gave battle and was severely defeated, whereupon he disappeared behind the *Brinal* hill in *Tahsil Kulgam*.

Abdal Bat, the commander, maneuvered so successfully that he threw both *Yusuf Shah* and *Sayyid Mubarak* into utter confusion, and also caused them to fight each other. The result was that *Abdal*'s clever machinations secured the throne to *Lohur Chak*, since *Sayyid Mubarak* willingly offered to abdicate, after a sway of six months and two days according to *Hasan*, and eight months and fifteen days according to *Khwaja Azam*, though *Haidar Malik Chadura* and *Khalil Marjanpuri* set down the period as two months and fifteen days only.

Yusuf was balked of the prize of kingship for which he had been invited. The death of the *Baihaqi* took place in 1591 A.C., five years after the advent of *Mughul* rule in *Kashmir*.

LOHUR SHAH CHAK

[987 A.H. to 988 A.H. or 1580 A.C. or 1579 A.C.]

Badi-ud-Din or Gauhar Shah, better known as *Lohur Chak*, was *Yusuf Shah's* cousin, being the son of *Shankar Chak*. *Abdal Bat* received the coveted office of Prime Minister under the *Padshah*.

Yusuf Shah Chak, on losing the crown which seemed to be within reach, repaired to *Akbar's* court at *Fathpur-Sikri*, on January 2, (1580 A.C.), to solicit help to regain his kingdom. That Emperor, it is needless to say, was only awaiting an opportunity like this to turn it to his own advantage. *Akbar*, therefore, willingly sent *Raja Man Singh* and *Mirza Yusuf* with an army with the exiled king, and they were joined by *Muhammad Bat*, *Yusuf Shah's* *Vazir*, at *Lahore* with an army one thousand strong. *Yusuf Shah* on *Muhammad Bat's* advice, suspected that *Akbar* would usurp the kingdom himself, and was now smitten with remorse for unnecessarily seeking foreign help. He left *Raja Man Singh* and *Mirza Yusuf* behind, on the pretext that it would be better for him to march alone with a view to sound his countrymen. We shall meet *Man Singh* later.

Through the efforts of *Muhammad Bat*, *Yusuf* was able to rally four thousand men around him before reaching *Kashmir*. He crossed the river *Jhelum*, near the village *Dalna*, seven miles from *Baramula*, to avoid *Yusuf Dar's* three thousand soldiers deputed by *Abdal Bat*. *Yusuf Shah* entered *Srinagar* triumphantly. *Abdal Bat* was killed. *Lohur Chak* sought safety in abdication by flight and subsequent death. *Lohru* had reigned for about thirteen months during

which *Malik Haidar*, practically an eye-witness, remarks that plenty ruled the land and that a kharwar of *Shali* or unhusked rice was available for a falas (pice), and the people enjoyed prosperity.

YUSUF SHAH CHAK (II)

[988 A.H. or 1580 A.C. to 994 A.H. or 1586 A.C.]

After an exile of a year and a half, *Yusuf Shah* re-established himself on the throne. In the beginning, he devoted his attention to the affairs of the state, freed the country from schism, and re-entered into friendly relations with *Sayyid Mubarak Khan Baihaqi* to whose son he gave one of his daughters in marriage. *Malik Haidar Chadura*, the historian, entered *Yusuf Shah's* service and continued in it for twenty-four years in *Kashmir* and in *Yusuf's* exile in *Bihar*.

It was *Yusuf Shah* who used to visit *Gulmarg* during the hot weather, and changed its name from *Gulmarg* (*the Marg* or path or pass of *Gauri*, wife of *Civa*) or popularly *Gulmarg* or *Horse's Meadow* (from *Gur:a* horse) to *Gulmarg* "*the Meadow of Flowers*". He used to visit *Sonmarg*, *Aharbal*, and *Achabal* too. *Yusuf* had his *Zalikha* in *Habba Khatun* to whom he was attached as a prince. Their love romance is one of the most poetic episodes in the romantic literature of *Kashmir*.

[*Gulmarg* is about 28 miles east of *Srinagar*, and 13 miles due south of *Baramulla*. The *Marg*, which is shaped somewhat like the figure 8, is about 3 miles long, and varies in width from a few hundred yards to more than a mile. It is enclosed, on all sides, by hills densely wooded by deodar. The whole of its surface is dotted with flowers of every hue. The elevation of the *Marg* is about 3,000 feet above the level of the *Valley of Kashmir*, and above 8,700 feet above the sea. The climate is cold, bracing and salubrious. The rainfall is three times as much as at *Srinagar* and yet it is not more than two-thirds of that

Kashmir under the Chaks

Murree. Jehangir and Nur Jahan, it is said, used to itch their tents for picnics on the stream that winds through *Gulmarg*, as, before them, *Yusuf Shah* and *Habba Khatun* used to enjoy life in their own days. *Gulmarg* is thus a land of *Kashmir's* royal lovers.]

Peace did not reign long. *Yusuf Shah's* nobles soon began to show restiveness on account of his indifference to state affairs. Prominent conspirators like *Shams Chak*, *Alam Sher Magre* and *Sayyid Yusuf* were hauled up. Later, *Muhammad Bat*, the *Vazir*, and his brother *Husain Bat*, along with *Yusuf Chak*, son of *Husain Chak* were suddenly discovered in their designs against the king, and were imprisoned. But *Yusuf Chak*, son of *Husain Chak*, escaped from prison, and joined *Haidar Chak*, a commander of *Lohur Chak's* troops, at *Lahore*, whence they quietly decided to proceed to *Ladakh or Western Tibet*. From that country they attacked *Kashmir*, but were defeated, captured, and punished by having their eyes put out. The king's son *Yaqub Khan* also rebelled and joined *Haidar Chak*. Both were defeated, but *Haidar* fled to *Lahore* to *Raja Man Singh*. The *Raja* already owed *Yusuf Shah* a grudge for the manner in which the latter had spurned his help. To checkmate *Haidar Chak's* designs, *Yusuf Shah* sent *Khawja Qasim* with presents to *Raja Man Singh*. The *Khawja*, on his return, pretended to have achieved success in his political mission, while *Raja Man Singh* had already assigned the districts of *Naushehra* and *Bhimbar* to *Haidar Chak* as jagir.

A little detail from *Abul Fazal* about this campaign will be reproduced here. "When the envoys,* *Mir Tahir* and *Salih Aqil*, returned from *Kashmir*, *Akbar* dispatched *Shah Rukh Bahadur*, *Raja Bhagwan Das*, *Shah Quli Mahram*, *Madhu Singh*, *Mubarak Khan* and others under

the charge of *Mirza Ali Akbar Shahi*, *Shaikh Yaqub Kashmiri*, *Haidar Chak* and others....When the army marched to conquer *Kashmir*, the idea of the leaders was that they would go by *Bhimbar*, as large armies could march by that route with ease and celerity, as also some of the landholders there were well-disposed." "The idea was that when the roads were cleared of snow and the winter had come to an end, they would advance through the passes. When the enemy were off their guard, the *Mughal* army was to proceed by the *Pakli* route where snowfall is less." (p.723).

"On this news, *Yusuf Shah Chak* resolved to give battle, and sent off many experienced men in order that they might construct a fort near a gorge of the river *Kunhar*, a tributary of the *Jhelum*. In every defile they were to establish a strength and to prepare for war." The force that was sent had passed *Baramulla* by six kos. To the good fortune of the *Mughal* army *Yusuf Shah*, however, suddenly recalled his men, setting store on the difficulty of crossing the passes, the advent of snow and rain, and the invading army belonging to a hot country. *Yusuf Shah* accordingly revised his plan.

But *Yusuf Shah* learnt rather late that *Akbar's* delegation had arrived near *Pakhli* or *Hazara*, and the *Mughal* troops had traversed heights and hollows, and had come near *Buliyasa* (old *Bolyasaka*, perhaps now called *Bunyar*) on the right bank of the *Jhelum* some 50 miles away from *Baramulla* and six marches to *Abbottabad*. The expedition of *Muhammad Shah Rukh* and *Raja Bhagavan Das* marched from the west and followed the bed of the *Jhelum* and the line of the modern road. But they did not get beyond the borders of *Kashmir*. *Jahangir* refers to this when he says (*The Tuzuk*, Vol.II, p. 132) that *Yaqub Shah*

fought with *Bhagvan Das*' army at *Buliyasa* which he calls *Bhulnas* and which he says is the boundary of *Kashmir*. The fact is that *Yusuf* behaved with great pusillanimity and deserted his army and country. *Yaqub*, however, fought vigorously; and the *Mughul* army suffered terribly from the cold, the dearness of provisions, the difficult roads, and the rain and snow, and were glad to retreat on any terms.

Meanwhile, *Akbar* sent *Timur Beg* to *Yusuf Shah*. *Yusuf Shah*, in turn, sent his son *Yaqub Khan*, who had now composed his differences with his father, with presents, to *Akbar's* court at *Fatehpur-Sikri*. On receiving the news of the death of *Mirza Hakim*, *Akbar's* step brother, then governing at *Kabul*, the emperor resolved to proceed thither, and desired to interview *Yusuf Shah* on his way. When *Yusuf Shah* failed to put in an appearance, *Akbar* directed *Mir Tahir* and *Salih Aqil Diwana* to present *Yusuf* at court. *Yaqub Khan* reached *Kashmir* after forced marches to apprise his father, who, spurred on by *Khwaja Qasim*, was very angry at the insult *Akbar* had offered him. *Yusuf Shah's* nobles dissuaded him from going to *Akbar's* court. *Yusuf* was not actually materially helped by *Akbar* in gaining the throne of *Kashmir*. But, at the same time, it is true *Yusuf* would not have been successful so easily had it not been known that *Akbar* was prepared to aid him. *Akbar's* historians henceforth treat *Yusuf* as a vassal and call him *Yusuf Khan*. *Yusuf's* view was—as *Sir W. Haig* says (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, page 292) that, as he had re-gained his throne without the aid of foreign troops, he was still an independent sovereign. *Akbar* on 20th December, 1685, ordered *Raja Bhagvan Das*, *Shah Rukh Mirza* and *Shah Quli Khan* to advance upon *Kashmir*.

Akbar did not conduct his campaigns himself, and it was a weakness in him as a ruler, points out *Lawrence*

Binyon,* that he did not always choose his lieutenants wisely. The three generals sent on the *Kashmir* campaign quarrelled. One of them was "*Birbal*, a musician, a poet, a jester, rather than a soldier or commander." *Akbar* could hear the loss of eight thousand men more calmly than the loss of *Birbal* who was killed in the engagement. "*Birbal*, his dear *Birbal*, his merry companion, whose voice, as he talked or sang in the evenings verses of his own composition, was still in his ear : *Birbal*, for whom he had built so beautiful a house at *Fatehpur-Sikri* : *Birbal*, the one *Hindu* who had embraced the emperor's new religion of the *Divine Faith*." But according to the *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhhirin* (Vol. I, page 192), *Akbar* had drawn lots between *Abul Fazl* and *Birbal*. The latter's name came up and consequently he had to go. As success from the military point of view could not be claimed, *Raja Bhagawan Das* tried to save the situation diplomatically by proposing terms, whereupon *Yusuf Shah* visited his camp. Taking advantage of *Yusuf's* absence, the *Kashmir* nobles placed *Yaqub Khan* on the throne, and further attacked the imperial army, inflicting a great loss upon it. *Raja Bhagwan Das*, was obliged to make terms with *Yaqub*, the chief of which was the annual payment of tribute by *Kashmir* to *Akbar*. The *Akbar-nama* says that the *Kashmiris* offered to agree that "the pulpits and coins should make mention of the *Shahinshah* and that the mint, the saffron, the silk and the game should be imperial. A superintendent or darugha should be appointed for each department and then the army should return... His Majesty,...accepted the agreement."

The *Raja* took *Yusuf Shah* to *Akbar's* court. But *Akbar* refused to ratify the treaty which *Raja Bhagwan Das* had made, and broke faith with *Yusuf* by detaining him as a

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prisoner. *Bhagvan Das*, sensitive on a point of honour, committed suicide.

Yusuf Shah Chak ceases, here, as a ruler. He was generous. He was cultured. He was a liberal *Shia*. But he was weak and fickle. His lack of decision and his indifference to affairs of state cost him his crown. He should have controlled the factions and his nobles by tact and firmness. He lacked these and ended his life away from his own land. *Yusuf* showed bravery in returning the attack of *Sher Afghan Khan*, whom he killed near *Burdawan* in *Bengal*.

* *Akbar* by *Lawrence Binyon*, *Peter Davies Ltd.*, 1932, pages 134-35.

YAQUB SHAH CHAK.

[994 A.H. or 1586 A.C.]

As *Habib Shah* was the last of the *Shah Miris*, the descendants of *Sultan Shams-ud-Din Shah Mir*, *Yaqub Shah* was the last of the *Chaks*. On his accession, *Yaqub* made *Ali Dar*, a prominent official, his minister, and himself took to a life of ease and pleasure. Misrule naturally followed.

Ali Dar, the first Minister, rebelled, fled the city, and suffered death by drowning. The second Minister, *Muhammad Bat*, relentlessly persecuted the *Sunnis*. *Qazi Musa*, the Chief *Qazi*, was ruthlessly done to death by *Yaqub Shah*. *Yaqub*, it seems, wanted the *Qazi* to retain the name of *Caliph Ali* to the exclusion of the other three *Caliphs of the Prophet* in the public prayer. *Qazi Musa* objected to it. He said that temporal rulers had nothing to do with spiritual matters. *Yaqub* was offended. He sent for the executioner and put *Qazi Musa* to death. *Qazi Musa's* house was also plundered.* The *Sunnis* were naturally so alarmed that *Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi* and *Baba Daud Khaki* petitioned *Akbar* for help and entered into the following covenant with him :-

1. That the ruling prince shall not interfere with religious affairs, the purchase and sale of commodities, and the rates of cereals.
2. That the dignitaries and officials of *Kashmir* shall have no *Kashmiri*, male or female, *Hindu* or *Muslim*, as slave. [Possibly this was to forestall the *Mughal* custom of taking slaves from subjugated areas.]

3. That the inhabitants of the country shall not be molested or oppressed in any way, or begar exacted.

4. That the nobles of *Kashmir* having been a source of mischief shall have, for the present, no share in the administration of their country.

Qasim Khan was ordered to march on 28th June, 1586 A.C., upon *Kashmir* with an army of forty thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. He entered *Rajouri* and proceeded to *Srinagar*. *Yaqub* made several attempts to retrieve the situation, but met with no success. *Mirza Qasim* entered *Srinagar* in 995 A.H. (1586 A.C.). From that date *Kashmir* came under foreign domination. She now embarked upon her career as a *Mughul* province.

Now that we close the story of *Kashmir* as an independent country, some observations on this loss independence are perhaps pertinent.

Shah Mir was a foreigner to *Kashmir*, but, as we said, he saved *Kashmir* from subjugation by the *Tughluqs*. The *Chaks* brought about the defeat and death of *Mirza Haidar Dughlat*, and prevented *Babur* and *Humayun* from forming *Kashmir* into a principality of theirs. *Kashmir* was conquered by *Barbur's* grandson, the great *Akbar* no doubt, but this conquest was due more to causes inside *Kashmir* than to *Akbar's* military might. *Akbar's* own Prime Minister, *Abul Fazl*, had at one time admitted that if the ruler of *Kashmir* fortified *Kashmir's* passes, an army of "thousands of

* A full account will be found in the *Nawadir-ul-Akhbar* by *Rafi-ud-Din Ahmad Ghafil* in the *British Museum Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, Add.

24,029, page 299. See note on the *Nawadir-ul-Akhbar* on p.236, footnote.

Rustams" would find it difficult, or rather impossible, to get possession of the country.

The last descendants of *Shah Mir* lost *Kashmir* by internecine warfare and by incompetence. But they were not bigots or religious fanatics. They were tolerant, forbearing and cultured. They made no distinction in the matter of their military recruitment. The *Chaks*, on the other hand, committed atrocities under the cloak of their new cult, though it is true the *Shias* had suffered from *Mirza Haidar Dughlat*. The *Chaks* confined recruitment to the army mostly to the *Shias*. And thus they made the army loyal to themselves alone, but not fit for the general defence of the country as a whole.

Lalitaditya-Muktapida (725-735 A.C.) had warned *Kashmir* rulers against raising troops from a single district implying thereby any single clan or caste. It was wise advice. The *Chaks* disregarded it. They raised their army and recruited or promoted their army officers mostly from among the *Shias*. The *Chaks* had themselves become the reincarnation of feudal *Damaras* of yore. By their heroism the *Chaks* overthrew the *Shah Miris*. By their feudalism and factions they brought about their own fall. For, religious bigotry, the raising troops mostly from among themselves, and the consequent factions caused in the people of *Kashmir*, led to an invitation to *Akbar* to rid *Kashmir* from fanaticism and oppression.

There is a lesson from the history of *Bulgaria*, to which reference cannot but be made. A quotation from the *Historians' History of the World* will appropriately illustrate it. "For many centuries the *Bulgarians* held the whole peninsula (of the *Balkans*) in suspense, shared their

literature and culture with the remaining orthodox Slavic world, and by the doctrines of a native sect shook the whole of southern *Europe*, and what is the conclusion ? The nation once so respected and feared, passed politically under the yoke of the *Turks*, intellectually under the yoke of the *Greeks*, and remained in this servitude until in our days it has shown that its task is not finished. The three causes which contributed directly to the fall of the *Tirnova Empire (of Bulgaria)* were *Byzantinism*, *Bogomilism* and medieval feudalism." (Vol. XXIV, page 175).

The causes which led to the fall of the *Chaks* were (i) medieval feudalism that promoted fights and factions among feudal lords, and (ii) *Bogomilism*, which in their case was religious fanaticism.

[The *Bogomilism of Bulgaria* was founded by a reformer, named *Bogomil* [literally, *Love of God*] about the first half of the tenth century A.C. The theology of *Bogomilism* was founded on the original two elements, a good and an evil, a kind of *Manichaeism* imported from the East.]

Let us now bury *Yaqub Shah* before we turn to the birth of *Mughul* rule in *Kashmir*.

We know *Yaqub* was married to *Shankar Devi*, the daughter of *Bahadur Singh*, the *Raja* of *Kishtwar*, in 1572 A.C. *Shankar Devi*, as already stated, became *Fath Khatun*. In his defeat in 1586, *Yaqub* betook himself to *Kishtwar*, to the land of his devoted queen. From here he made one more attempt to recover *Kashmir* in 1587, but failed. In 1588 *Yaqub* died* at *Kishtwar* and is buried towards the south of the tank of *Sirkot* on the *Chaugan*, outside *Kishtwar* town. *Fath Khatun* constructed a water-course in memory of her husband. This water-course must have been a great

blessing to *Kishtwar* as it is afflicted with shortage of water. She also constructed a tank, and another water-course from *Kali Nag* to the village *Zewar*.

The last resting-place of the last independent *Muslim* ruler of *Kashmir* is today but a low heap of lime and stone in a corner of a field in the possession of a *Pandit*

* *Rafi-ud-Din Ahmad bin Abd-us-Sabur bin Khwaja Muhammed Balkhi Kashmiri*, *Takhallus Ghafil*, the author of the *Nawadir-ul-Akhbar*, a history of *Kashmir* from the earliest times to the conquest of *Akbar*, and completed by the author at *Shahjahanabad* in the month of *Safar* 1136 (1723 A.C.) says that the death of *Yaqub Khan Chak* was caused by means of a khilah sent by *Akbar*. *Rieu's Catalogue*, Vol.I, 1879, page 300.

PAKHIL.—The footnote 1, on page 87, treats of *Pakhli*, which occurs so many times in this Chapter also, some more information about it is, therefore, given here. "An ancient *Sarkar* or district of the *Mughul Subah* of the *Punjab*, now included in the *Hazara District* of the North-West Frontier Province, *Pakhli* roughly corresponds with the ancient *Urasa* which Ptolemy places between the *Bidaspes (Jhelum)* and the *Indus*. Its king was named *Arsakes* in the times of *Alexander*. *Hiuen Tsiang* found it tributary to *Kashmir*. In the *Kashmir chronicle* called the *Rajtarangini*, it appears, now as a separate kingdom, now as tributary to that State. In it lay *Agror*, the ancient *Atyugrapura*. In *Babar's* time, this tract was held by the *Khakha* and *Bamba* tribes, whose *Chiefs* had been the ancient rulers of the country east of the *Indus* but had been driven out by the *Gibari Sultans* of *Bajaur* and *Swat* ; and

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the tract derives its name from *Pakhli* one of these conquerors. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* it is described as bounded on the east by *Kashmir*, on the south by the country of the *Gakhars*, on the west by *Attock*, and on the north by *Kator* (Chitral). Under *Durrani* rule, *Saadat Khan*, was chosen as chief of *Pakhli*, then a dependency of *Kashmir*. He founded the fort of *Garhi Saadat Khan*, which was the headquarter of *Azad Khan's* rebellion against *Timur Shah*. Early in the nineteenth century *Pakhli* comprised three districts : *Mansehra* in south and south-east. *Shinkiari* (subdivided into *Kandhi* and *Maidan*) in the north-east, and *Bhir-Kand* in the centre. The *Valleys of Kagan Bhogarmang* and *Agror* were dependent on it." The Imperial Gazetteer of *India* Vol. XIX (New edition), Oxford Press, 1908, p. 318-19) "The *Pakhli* plain of the *Mansehra Tahsil*, 3,000 feet above sea-level, is 11 miles from north to south, and 10 from east to west. It is a fertile, highly cultivated tract, especially in the western portion which is irrigated by the *Siran* river." Gazetteer of the *Hazara* District, 1907. Compiled and edited by H.D. Watson, C.S., Settlement Officer, Chatto and Windus, London, 1908, p.3.

CHAPTER XV

MOGHUL RULE IN KASHMIR

By
Jai Lal Kilam

The *Moghul* rule was essentially a military despotism, but not of the variety one witnessed during the regime of the *Delhi Sultans* who had preceded the *Moghuls*. The despotism of the *Moghul* rulers though military in character, was yet very benevolent. They did not remain content with only winning fresh territories or maintaining peace and tranquility in the realm, but were always solicitous for the welfare of their subjects. Praises have been bestowed upon them for their achievements in the domain of architecture, painting and other fine arts. Three are yet others who have admired their liberal outlook and the spirit of religious toleration. But it goes without saying that the greatest achievement of *Mogul* sovereigns has been to free the Government from the shackles of theocracy. It was they who took to kingship as a profession and never boasted of being the "Protectors of faithful" and so on. They introduced political ideas into their administration and evolved an administrative policy which was strictly political and secular and never theocratic or

based upon religion. They remitted *Jazia*, the imposition of which was amongst other reasons based upon the fact "that since a Non-Muslim cannot, in strict theory be allowed to fight on behalf of the Islamic State, he must pay for the support and upkeep of the army of the faithful fight for the faith." The *Jazia* having been remitted, the *Hindus* in general and the *Rajputs* in particular were enlisted in the Imperial army. Even during *Aurangzeb's* reign *Jai Singh* was in command of the *Emperor's Deccan* armies. The strict interpretation of canonical doctrines did not in any way prevent the Emperor from following a policy which political considerations dictated. The removal of *Jazia* put both the *Muslim* and Non-Muslim on par with each other. *Hindus* were made the grantees of the Empire, the part played by the *Rajputs* in consolidating the Empire is known to all. In *Kashmir* as has been noticed in the preceding pages, *Pandits* too were given commands in the army, though the *Pandit's* services utilized for local purpose only.

The Empire was divided into a number of *Subas* (Provinces). *Kashmir* was one such *Suba*. Each *Suba* was placed under a *Subedar*. The *Subedar* was the Head of the provincial administration and was responsible for the maintenance of law and order. He was assisted by a *Diwan*, in charge of financial matters, and *Faujdar*. In *Kashmir* there used to be a *Faujdar* at *Anantnag*, then known as *Islambad*.

From ancient *Hindu* times *Kashmir* was divided into a number of *parganas* (sub-districts) traditionally thirtysix which served as administrative by a *Paraganadar* under whom were other petty officers such as *Patwaris*, *Thanedars*, *Shikdars*, *Qumingo*, *Fotedars* etc. A *Parganadar* and his local bureaucracy was responsible for land revenue collections. Land revenue was collected in

kind. To begin with the land revenue was fixed at about twenty two lacs of Khirwars of Shali. Later on the produce of the whole country according to *Ain-i-Akbari* was estimated at sixty one lacs of Khirwars of Shali, and the land revenue was fixed at one half of the produce. Says *Ain-i-Akbari* "the system of revenue collection is bay appraisement and division of crops. Although one third had been for a long time past the nominal share of the State, more than two shares were actually taken, but through His Majesty's justice it has been reduced to one half. According to the assessment of *Qazi Ali* the land revenue was fixed at 3073050 kharwars of Shali. "In dams the land revenue came to 74670000 dams, which would mean that the price of one khirwar of Shali was about 24 dams, i.e. ten *annas*. In *Shah Jehan's* reign the total revenue (including other taxes and duties) was estimated at Rs.3750000 and on the death of *Aurangzeb* it was Rs.5747734, though previous to this the revenue had shown some decrease.

Agriculture was very well looked after and many improvements were effected in its methods. Irrigation was a special concern of the State. The *Karewas* or *Tablelands* in which *Kashmir* abounds, were most of them irrigated and much ingenuity was displayed by their engineers in carrying water to the top of these hillocks. No wonder that the produce of Shali and other food grains was very rich and abundant. Fruit growing was practised on an extensive scale. The methods of grafting was introduced in *Kashmir* during this period. Many central *Asian* fruits were thus introduced in the country; and many gardens were laid in *Kashmir* during this period. Wherever one may go in *Kashmir* a *Moghul* garden in ruins will be there with a grove of chinars to proclaim in mute eloquence the glory of the place once. The *Subedars* while following the footsteps

of the Emperors viewed with each other in laying gardens. During this period seven hundred gardens are estimated to have been laid. The Chinar tree is believed to have been imported during this period.

Akbar selected the site for laying the seat of Government on lands round about the hill of *Hari Parbat*. A fort was constructed around the hill and a town was founded there which was named as *Nagar Nagar*. The fort itself was named as *Nagar Nagar Fort*. In constructing the fort a crore and ten lacks of rupees were provided from the royal treasury and besides two hundred master-builders were sent from *India*. The construction greatly relieved the horrors of a famine which had broken out during those days. The *Subedars* had their residence inside the fort. The fort had twelve big gates, besides a number of small entrances the latter led to the gardens laid by various *Mogul Subedars*. The palaces where the *Subedars* lived were constructed inside the fort on the northern and the eastern side of the hill. *Jehangir* himself raised a magnificent palace on the eastern side. So also *Ali Mardan Khan a Subedar* (1650 A.D. to 1657 A.D.) to its north. Other *Subedars* raised similar palaces. There was a stream which flowed near the palaces. This was known as *Lachhmi Kuhl*. This stream catered to the needs of the people who attended *Jama Masjid* for prayers. On the southern side of the fort there was a gate known then as *Delhi Darwaza* which exists even now; and is now known to the people as *Kathi Darwaza*. The *Naubat Shahi* was located there. The jail was just near it at a place where the present jail is situated. The reason why the gate is now known as *Kathi Darwaza* is perhaps that the condemned people were hanged there—the word in *Kashmir* for a scaffold being *Kathi*.

Moguls in spite of their despotism were not unmindful of public opinion. Various were the methods adopted by them to keep public opinion on their side, one such method was not to allow anybody to go to bed with an empty stomach. Poor houses were started under royal patronage which fed the poor and infirm sections of the people. In *Srinagar* there was one such poor house located in a building known as *Bilor Khana* which was constructed just near the royal palaces on the bank of *Subrabal lake*. Food was distributed free both morning and evening to anybody who felt its need. On the western side of the fort there was another gate which led to *Idgah*. At *Idgah* there stood a mosque and a Chinar grove. In *Idgah* on the Id day after Namaz the *Subedar* and other *Mansabdars* participated in a number of games. Horse races and peg driving were practised. Thousands of people enjoyed sight-seeing and really enjoyed Id.

The *Subedars* and other *Mansabdars* had quite a jolly time and the people also were happy and peaceful. For the *Subedars* and other big people drinking water was brought from *Gagribal*. The sluice at *Drugjan* was just at the place as it is now.

Kashmir carried a brisk trade with Central Asia and India. It was the centre wherefrom articles of Indian manufacture such as muslins, brocade, etc. were transported to Central Asia and China and Central Asian manufactured articles were sent to India. In fact it was a meeting place for traders, from such distant places as *Balkh* and *Bukhara* in the north and *Delhi* and *Amritsar* from the South. The revenue from customs was estimated at two lacs of rupees, which taking into consideration the fall in the value of the rupee since *Mogul* times is much more than is the income even at present. *Anantnag* was the place

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wherefrom trade was directed with *India* and *Jammu*, *Bhadrawah*, *Kishtwar*, etc. The habit of taking tea which is now universal in *Kashmir* was imbibed during this period following contacts with *Tibetan* traders who had themselves taken it up from Chinese.

Many industries flourished in *Kashmir* during this period, chief of them being carpet and *shawl* industries. Silkworm was reared and the silk industry was very flourishing. Besides that there were other industries such as paper machie, silver work, copper work, wood work, furs, leather work and paper manufacturing. About paper it is recorded that *Kashmir* did "fabricate the best writing paper of the East which was formerly an article of extensive traffic, as were its lacquer ware, cutlery and sugars." The *shawl* industry was at its peak during this period. There were about forty thousand *shawl* looms working in the country during this period. *Shawls* found their way in all parts of the world. Merchants and commercial agents from all over *Asia* were stationed here. The art of *shawl* making was highly developed and a *shawl* could very easily pass through a ring. It is recorded that a *Sayyid* who had come to *Kashmir* in 1796 A.D. carried with himself a *shawl* given to him as a gift which he later presented to *Khedive* of *Egypt*, who on his part presented it to *Napoleon* handed it over to his wife *Josephine*, who later introduced it in fashionable *Paris* societies. Gradually *Kashmir shawl* secured quite a good market in *France*, and which continued right up to the day the *French* were defeated in *Franco-German War* of 1870 A.D. The collapse of *France* contributed in a very large extent to the collapse of the industry in *Kashmir*.

During the *Mogul* period in *Kashmir* the *shawl* weavers do not seem to have been reckoned as a respectable class. May be that they were quite an exploited

class. In any case their lot was very far from being enviable. Many pithy saying concerning them are current even now, and these would describe their plight in an unmistakable manner. Even now whenever circumstances urge somebody to use an inferior stuff, where a better stuff should have been used, the man on inquiry would without a moment's thought retort with an old saying: "*Sin muhima sochal raian muhima Khandawav*" which tendered in English would mean "Famine of vegetables will force you to eat *Sauchal* (a wild grown vegetable) and dearth of good husbands Will compel a woman to choose a *shawl* weaver." Compared to modern conditions there were too many working hours a day with no respite as becomes clear from many other sayings yet in vogue. But this too is a fact that they eked out a secure living from their profession and never starved, though they seldom were in opulent circumstances.

There was not the baffling problem of unemployment of the present day. The fact that about forty thousand *shawl* looms were working in the country, would show that besides the forty thousand workers on the looms twice the number must have been dependent in this industry alone. These would include spinners, darners, washers, embroiderers, dyers, etc. Besides the rich *shawl* magnates and their staff and servants. The unemployment, in towns it can be easily imagined must have been almost non-existent. The people with even small incomes could have kept starvation at an arm's length. The 'produce of food grains had gone very high, in as much the price of a Khirwar (two mounds) of Shali was only ten *annas*, which on account of further increase in the production during *Shah Jehan's* reign must have gone further down. But this would not lead one to the conclusion that the peasantry was

a hard-hit lot. In the first instance the abundance of food produce must naturally have kept them free from its want. Besides this it has to be borne in mind that the value of money at that time was nearly thirteen times as much as it was at the beginning of the second world war, and the value of rupee at the beginning of the second world war was four times as it is today. Even though a Khirwar of Shali fetched in those days only eight *annas*, that would mean in our currency thirty two rupees and eight *annas*. This compares very favourably with the present day prices. Besides this, the village population as elsewhere in *India*, had a complete village economy. They had their own carpenter, barber, iron smith, physician, washerman and weaver. These were paid in kind at each harvest in lieu of the services they rendered during the year. Fruit was abundant, which on account of its perishable nature, and want of speedy means of transport was not exported in any large quantities. Unlike these days, fruit was very cheap and people used it as and article of food.

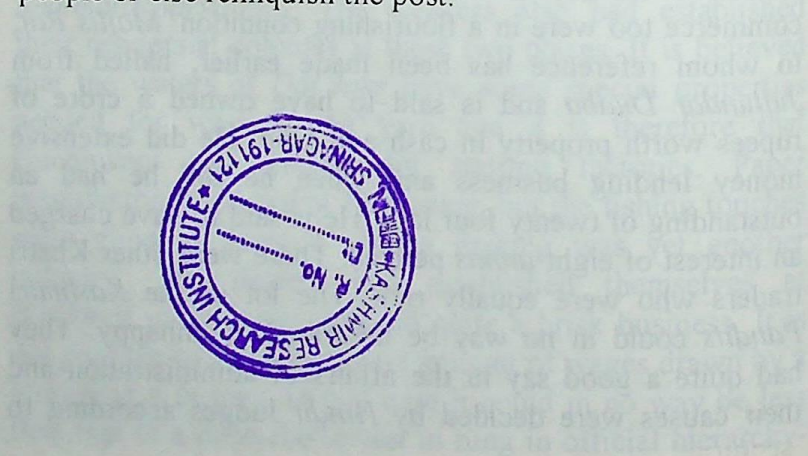
The *shawl* factories were working at two places near *Jama Masjid* and *Buchhwara* at the foot of the *Shankaracharya* hill. The weavers also had established their residential colonies at these two places. It is believed that the waters of *Dal lake* have some special properties needed for washing the yarn and it is therefore that *Buchhwara* was chosen for starting factories. Paper manufactories existed at *Vicharnag*, but the fishing touches were given at *Harwan*. Nama making was yet another industry. The dealers had established themselves at *Baldimar* in *Srinagar*, and did quite a brisk business. It is not possible to know the exact amount of wages drawn by a worker at a factory. In any case it could in no way be less than that of a peon-the lowest in rung in official hierarchy-

who was paid those days Rs. 3/8/- a month in *India*. Judging from the fall in the value of currency, a person with an income of Rs. 3/8/- a month then is as good as a person of these days with a monthly income of Rs. 150/-. All this might seem a fiction, but it is strange that all this is a fact.

The *State* too made a huge income from this all round prosperity. At the close of *Akbar's* rule the land revenue of the valley was a little more than 24 lacs of rupees. By the end of *Aurangzeb's* rule, the land revenue may have gone up by an other six lacs. The all told income, including taxes, customs and excise duties was about 57 lacs of rupees during *Aurangzeb's* rule, which while deducting the land revenue would leave a balance of about 27 lacs from other sources. The figure of 57 lacs would indeed become a staggering figure if converted into modern currency. No wonder then that the *Moguls* in *Kashmir* became responsible for a number of beneficent projects, such as road-building schemes, irrigation schemes, laying of gardens, fruit improvement schemes and so on.

For a period of one hundred fifty years, *Kashmir* witnessed an era of unprecedented peace. Trade and commerce too were in a flourishing condition. *Majlis Rai*, to whom reference has been made earlier, hailed from *Jullundar Duaba* and is said to have owned a crore of rupees worth property in cash and kind. He did extensive money lending business and when he fell he had an outstanding of twenty four lacs. He is said to have charged an interest of eight *annas* percent. There were other *Khatri* traders who were equally rich. The lot of the *Kashmiri Pandits* could in no way be described as unhappy. They had quite a good say in the affairs of administration and their causes were decided by *Hindu* Judges according to

But from this it should not be supposed that there was not a single *Subedar* who misbehaved at times. Such instances of misbehavior are many. But the moment information reached the Ruler at *Delhi*, prompt measures were adopted to set the matter right. The *Pandits* made a complaint to *Jehangir* against *Qilich Khan*-a *Subedar* during his reign. *Jehangir* at once wrote to the *Subedar*. "Supporter of Government. The complainants are many and thanks-givers few. Pour cold water on thirsty people or else relinquish the post."



MOGHULS

By
G.L.Kaul

The Muslims of India had grown ineffective. The Empire of Delhi had disappeared. The King's writ was no longer supreme. It was the time of the little princes, the *Tawaif-ul-Muluk*. Barbar who had failed in his native home came to India and founded a kingdom. To Kashmir he sent his sepoys in 1494 A.D. (according to one account) but they appear on the pages of Kashmir's history as meteors who flash across the darkness of the night and are gone. Mirza Haidar of Auritapa and Sikandar Khan of Kashghar (1532 A.D.) are also said to have invaded Kashmir but could not secure a footing. Humayun also tried his luck but did not succeed. At last the throne of Kashmir lapsed to Akbar in 1585 A.D. A deputation from Kashmir submitted a petition to Akbar which included an invitation to him. Kashmir had grown tired of misrule. A pact was signed.

(a) That the king shall not interfere with the religious affairs, the purchase and sale of goods and the rates of food grains and cereals.

(b) That the Officers of the Government shall have no male or female Kashmiri as a slave.

(c) That the inhabitants of Kashmir shall not be molested in any way.

(d) That the nobles of Kashmir having been a source of mischief in the past shall have no share in the administration of the country.

Akbar, the Guardian of Mankind, (1556-1605 A.D.) was a contemporary of "Queen Bees" of England. After centuries of unrest and oppression he restored peace to the

country. His is the noblest figure among *Muslims* monarchs who even shone on the throne of *India*. He built the *Hari Parbat* Fort and the city of *Nagar* inside the huge wall that runs round *Hari Parbat*. *Akbar* brought his Finance Minister named *Raja Todar Mal* with him to *Kashmir*. He fixed his camp at *Pattan*, measured the whole land and settled the revenue.

The labourers who were employed in the construction of the new city were paid at the rate of six *annas* a day if married and four *annas* if unmarried. *Akbar* maintained an army of 4,892 cavalry and 92,400 infantry. He visited the country three times. In his time *Kashmir* yielded a revenue of about one crore. *Akbar* was a man of great energy and constant occupation, capable of immense and prolonged effort and fond of all many exercises. On a campaign he was indefatigable. Himself a great thinker he also respected the sentiments of others. He abolished *Jazia* and other abominable taxes imposed by the *Muslim* sovereigns upon their *Hindu* subjects and gave high posts to the *Hindus*.

Akbar was succeeded by *Jehangir*, the Great *Moghul* 1605-1627 A.D. He was a prince of luxurious taste. He built *Shalimar*, *Chishma Shahi*, *Naseem* and *Verinag* which stand to this day. He considered it bad taste to stretch a carpet on the green ground of the Valley. But he abandoned himself to voluptuous ease, to "*Eein, Weib, Und Gesang*." Well goes the saying. "He that diggeth a well, he that buildeth a fountain and he that planteth a tree is pleasing to the everlasting." *Jehangir* was a just monarch and the 'fabled bell' verily belongs to him. Death overtook him on his way to *Delhi*. When *Jehangir* was dying he was asked if he wanted anything. He replied "*Kashmir*."

Az Shah-i-Jehangir dame naza chu justand

Ba Khwahish-i-dil guft ki Kashmir digar hech.

History records that the *Raja* to *Kishtwar* was brought to knees in 1620 A.D. by *Jehangir*'s armies.

Once the *Hindus* of *Kashmir* complained against (*Qulich*) *Kullbah Khan* (1606-1609 A.D.) to Emperor *Jehangir*. He sent to him a warning in the following words in *Persian* :-

*"Hakumat Panaha, Dadkhwahani tu bisyar,
shukrguzarani tu kam, abi sabah bar labi
tashnagan bire warnah as hukumat barkhez."*

"O protector of administration; thy complainants are many, thy thanks givers are few, pour cold water on the lips of the thirsty, or else get away from the administration." The Governor, was dismissed for not heeding the warning.

Some maintain that *Ahmad Beg Khan*, the Governor, was an evil star for *Kashmir* (1615-1618 A.D.).

Shah Jahan, the Magnificent (1627-1658 A.D.), was made of the same mettle as his father. He added immensely to his father's grandeur. The *Moghuls* were *Muslims* of a noble breed. There are many instances to show how just and also how tolerant they were towards other faiths. "He ruled from the *Peacock Throne* and spread hands of command from *Balkh* to *Himalaya*. "*Shah Jahan* also visited *Kashmir* many times.

Zaffar Khan (1633-1640 A.D.), abolished many taxes such as tax on saffron, tax on wood and poll-tax on sheep and boat-men. *Ali Mardhan Khan* (1642 A.D.) was credited with the possession of the philosopher's stone with whose help he built-up sarais on the *Pir Panchal* route. It was during his time that *Muslims*, headed by one fanatic *Khawaja Mam*, set fire to *Pandit Mahadev*'s house and also slew a large number of *Brahmins*. When this report reached the Emperor *Shah Jehan* he was very much incensed and

the offenders were punished. An expedition was appointed during *Ali Mardhan Khan's* time (1650-1657 A.D.) to proceed from *Kashmir* to *Tibet* to subdue a rebel, *Mirza Jam*, and to capture fort *Skardu*. *Tibet* was annexed to the *Delhi* Empire on August 15, 1651.

Writes Mr. M.R. Qanugo in the *Journal of Indian History* for April 1929 :-

"In *Kashmir*, *Shah Jehan* changed the *Hindu* names of places into *Islamic* and destroyed some *Hindu* shrines. In the month of *Rabi-Usani*, A.H. 1044, when the Imperial standard reached the neighbourhood of *Bhimber Pass* at the foot of the *Kashmir* hills, His Majesty learnt that the *Muslims* of this place, owing to their primitive ignorance, gave their own daughters in marriage to the *Hindus* and also took wives from them. There was an understanding that *Hindu* women married by *Muslims* were to be buried and *Muslim* girls married by *Hindus* to be burnt according to *Hindu* custom after death. The Emperor as the protector of the Faith ordered that the *Hindus* who married *Muslims* women must be compelled either to renounce infidelity or to part with their *Muslim* wives. *Jagu*, a *Zamindar* of these parts from whom these despicable customs had originated, through the Grace of God and out of fear, at the desire of His Majesty, with all his kinsmen accepted *Islam* and was honoured with the title of "*Raja Daulatmand*." Even as it is, it looks incompatible with *Moghul* sense of justice.

Aurangzeb, the Man of no Tastes, (1658-1707 A.D.) undid what his father had done. He was a contemporary of *Charles II*, *James II* and *Willeam III* *George Foster* who visited *Kashmir* in 1783 A.D. talks much of the atrocities committed by *Aurangzeb*. He says that the Emperor extracted three and a half lakhs of rupees and the Governor who collected this sum took twenty lakhs for himself. It is

possible that a Governor on the spot did things which were not approved by the Emperor and often it proved so.

While *Aurangzeb* was reigning in *Delhi*, a sage named *Pir Pandit Padshah* (so says the tradition) had fascinated people here. The Emperor was alarmed at this. He summoned him to his court. The Pir's spirit went to the court through air and appeared before him in a terrible form mounted on a lion. The Emperor was horrified and *Pir Pandit* was no more annoyed. *Aurangzeb* visited *Kashmir* once in the year 1663. Three thousand coolies were employed from *Bhimber* to *Kashmir* and they received ten crowns for every hundred pounds of weight they carried.

Saif Khan (1664-1667 A.D.) introduced innovations in the form of new exactions such as (a) assessing the revenue by the actual measurement of land in place of the old practice of making a rough eye-estimate based on guess, (b) taxing the people to make good any loss or damage to things from the province ordered by the Emperors (*Casuri-i-Farmaith*), and (c) change in or deduct from men's salaries due. During his second veceroyalty he promoted agriculture by planting colonies and building a city. *Mubarez Khan* (1667-68 A.D.) was a good natured but indolent man and his *Uzbek* retainers shamelessly oppressed and ill-treated the people, wounding and killing all who resisted them. *Muzafar Khan* (1690-1692) and his brother, *Abu Nasar Khan* (1652-1698 A.D.), both sons of *Shaista Khan*, enriched themselves by levying illegal cesses, in addition to realising their legitimate fees with the utmost rigour. *Fazal Khan* (1698-1701 A.D.), in addition to being a patron of scholars and holy men, built many mosques, schools, pavilions, sarais, embankments and gardens etc. He was the first to introduce the *Kashmiris* to the Emperor's service and he also remitted many cases of

former times such as *hasil-i-ghalak* (tax on earthen jars), *nimak* (salt duty) and *damdari* (tax on bird catcher). During *Ibrahim Khan's* vice royalty (1701-1706 A.D.) there occurred a civil war between the *Shias* and *Sunnis*. *Aurangzeb* on hearing of these occurrences removed *Ibrahim Khan* from vice royalty and ordered the *Sunni* captives to be released. *Ifrikhar Khan* (1671-1675) won a lot of notoriety by unnecessarily torturing *Hindus* and the following account will throw light on his policy.

The long roll of natural, calamities during the half century of *Aurangzeb's* reign includes two earthquakes (1669 and 1681), two conflagrations of the capital (1672 and 1676), one flood (1682) and a famine (1688). The conquest of *Greater Tibet* whose ruler, styled *Daladal Mamjal* in the *Persian* chronicles, bowed to *Islam*, caused coins to be struck and the *Khutba* read in the Emperor's name and built a mosque in his capital (1666). In 1683 when the *Black Qalmaq*s invaded his country he begged the aid of his *Suzerain*. An Imperial force sent from *Kabul* under *Fidai Khan* (the son of the *Kashmir Subedar Ibrahim Khan*) drove the *Qalmaq*s out re-installed the Lama and returned in triumph with much booty.

Bernier visited *Kashmir* in 1664. He says that *Begari* rate was Rs.20/-per 100 lb.weight. Elsewhere he writes : "The people of *Kashmir* are proverbial for their complexions and fine forms. They are well made as the Europeans. The women especially are very handsome and it is from this country that nearly every individual when first admitted to the court of the Great *Moghul*, selects wives or concubines that his children may be whiter than the *Indians* and pass for genuine *Moghuls*."

The interval upto 1753 A.D. does not look very important. The *Moghul* prestige deteriorated gradually

during *Aurangzeb's* successors. In 1720 A.D. *Mulla Abdul Nabi* alias *Mulla Khan* who was the *Sheikh-ul-Islam* of *Kashmir*, gave instructions to the then Governor, *Mir Ahmad Khan*, to treat the *Hindus* harshly but the honest Governor refused. *Mulla Khan* then excited the *Mohammedans* against the *Hindus*. *Mulla Khan* was later on the massacre of the *Shias* also at the hands of *Sunnis*. *Mulla Sharaf-ul-Din* succeeded his father as *Sheikh-ul-Islam*.

Abdul Samad, the fifth Governor, came from *Lahore* with huge army in 1722 A.D. He put *Mulla Sharaf-ul-Din* to death and in one excursion from *Naid Kadal* to *Khwaja Yarbala* he had about fifty rebels executed. He removed all the restrictions that were placed on the *Hindus*. There was justice again in the land and the poet sang :-

Haka an Samad Phutrun zin,

Na rud kuni Sharaf na rud kuni Din.

"Samad (horse) came swiftly; there remained neither Sharaf (cardinalship) nor Din (bigotry) anywhere."

During the Governorship of *Abdul Samad Khan* (1720-1723 A.D.) anti-*Hindu* disturbances broke out in *Kashmir*, instigated by *Mahbub Khan*, '*Abdul Nabi*,' which ended in riot and pillage and in which *Mahbub* and others were killed (1720 A.D.).

Abdul Barkh Khan was at war with his officials. Each party set fire to the city which resulted in the destruction of 20,000 houses. This happened in *Dil Diler Khan's* time (1735-1738 A.D.).

Fakhr-ud-Daula was deputed by *Nadir Shah* as Governor of *Kashmir* but *Ati Ullah Khan* (1739-1741) supported by his councillors opposed him destroying 15,000 houses of the city and suburbs.

It is recorded in an account that seven hundred and seventy gardens were laid out by the *Moghuls* in *Kashmir* alone. There is no doubt that they beautified every spot that came to their notice and *Kashmir* reacted very well to their feelings. They did not only love Nature, they had a fine sense of art. Their route to *Kashmir* was *Gujarat—Bhimber—Shopian*.

Ab-ul-Fazal writes : "But the bane of this country is its people. Yet, strange to say, notwithstanding its numerous population and the scantiness of the means of subsistence, thieving and begging are rare. They are artifices of various kinds who might be deservedly employed in the greatest cities. Although *Kashmir* has a dialect of its own their learned books are in the *Sanskrit* language. They have a separate character which they use for mess. Work and they write chiefly on tuz which is the bark of a tree. The majority of the narrow minded conservatives, of bind traditions, are *Sunnis*. The most respectable class in this country is that of the *Brahmins* who notwithstanding their need of freedom from the hands of tradition and custom are true worshipers of God. They do not loosen the tongue of calumny against, not of their faith, nor beg nor importune. Saffron is also cultivated in *Paraspur*. Although 1/3 had been for a long time past the nominal share of the State, more than two shares are actually taken what has been reduced now to 1/2. The revenue amounted to 7 crores 46 lakhs 70,411 dams (Rupees 18,66,766-4-5)

CHAPTER XVI

AFGHAN RULE IN KASHMIR

By
Jai Lal Kilam

In the foregoing pages we have noticed the Establishment and the end of the *Afghan* rule and have also described the varying methods which were adopted by individual *Subedars* in discharge of their administrative functions. Some of them were harsh and cruel. Some were of a moderate bent of mind, but generally they tried to establish an independent rule. But it may by no means be supposed that the *Afghans* were in any sense of the term religious maniacs fired with a fanatical zeal for the propagation of their faith. Their methods of Government were indeed crude and sometimes very cruel and oppressive, but all this had a political background and seldom theocratic. Forster who visited *Kabul* in 1783 A.D. says that he observed on his arrival at *Kabul* a common toleration of religion; that *Christians*, *Hindus* and *Jews* openly professed their creed and pursued their occupations without molestation. At another place the same gentleman observes that "Among the foreign nations who frequent this city (*Kabul*) the *Hindus* chiefly of *Peshawar* contribute

more than any other to enrich it by a superior industry and knowledge of commerce; and they enjoy under the *Afghan* Government a liberty and protection little short of that experienced by the inhabitants of our *Indian* possessions. The benefits derived by a *State* from the residence of any class of people usually ensure to them a security of person and property, but the *Hindus* of *Kabul* are indebted I believe for special indulgence to one of their own sect, who controls the revenue of the Shah and stands high in favour." This tradition of religious toleration was carried with themselves by the *Subedars* who were deputed to *Kashmir* from *Kabul*. As a result we find that though at times the *Kashmiri Pandits* as a racial group were very harshly treated, but there was no ban on their appointed to any post, civil or military, on the ground of religion and as a matter of fact the history of *Afghan* rule in *Kashmir* will remain quite incomplete without mentioning the *Kashmiri Pandit*. Even during this period of unsettledness merchants and commercial agents of most of the principal cities of Northern *India* and also from *Turkey*, *Persia* and *Tartary* were seen in *Kashmir*. Forster adds "But the heavy oppressions of the Government and the rapacious temper of the bordering states, who exercise an unremitting rapacity on the foreign traders and often plunder whole cargoes, have reduced the commerce of *Kashmir* to a declining and a languid state."...with the result "that during *Moghul* rule the province contained forty thousand *shawl* looms and at this day there are not sixteen thousand." Forster at other place regrets that "since the dismemberment of *Kashmir* from the Empire of *Hindustan*, it has been subject to the *Afghans*, who possessing neither the genius for liberality of the *Moghuls* have suffered its elegant structures to crumble into ruins and to hold out against them a severe testimony

of the barbarity of their nation." It should be borne in mind that though *Kashmir* was a province under *Afghanistan*, there were many small principalities situate between *Kashmir* and *Afghanistan*, which were for all intents and purposes independent. This led to the weakening of the link between the two countries with the result that the central authority at *Kabul* did not interfere in *Kashmir* affairs, even though a *Subedar* may have grievously misbehaved, as long as the annual tribute was regularly paid. Forster explains this state affairs with the remark "But when it is considered that the approach to this remote province leads through hostile or independent territories that *Taimur Shah* (*Kabul* king) is equally withheld from distant enterprise by the accumulated arrears and consequent weakness of his army to which may be added the fear of domestic treason a sufficient cause will be seen for his passive regard to the interior Government of *Kashmir*, contending himself with the tribute, he is seldom disposed to control the conduct of a remote Governor." The result of this weak central policy was that almost all the *Subedars* deputed from *Kabul* declared their independence at one time or the other and most of them made themselves responsible for very cruel and oppressive methods of administration. Forster adds that "during my residence in *Kashmir* I often witnessed the harsh treatment which the common people received at the hands of their masters, who rarely issued an order without a blow of the side of their hatchet a common weapon of the *Afghans*." At other place Forster remarks "that this extreme rigour has sensibly affected the deportment and manners of *Kashmirians* who shrink with dread from the *Afghan* oppression." According to the same author "the manners of the people have undergone a manifest change since the dismemberment of their country from *Hindustan*."

Encouraged by the liberality and indulgence of the *Moghuls* they gave a loose to their pleasures and the bent of their genius. They appeared in gay apparel, constructed costly buildings.... The interests of this province were so strongly favoured at the Court (at *Delhi*) that every complaint against its Governors was attentively listened to and any attempt to molest the people restrained or punished." From this it becomes abundantly clear that the treatment of the *Afghans* towards *Kashmiris*, the vast majority of whom were *Muslims* was really very harsh. The *Kashmiri Muslims* were never enlisted in the army and in the civil administration too the *Kashmiri Muslims* had very little hand. It was held an established rule in the *Afghan* Government to refuse admission of a *Kashmiri* to the army. The army of *Kashmir* during this period consisted of about three thousand horse and foot who were mainly *Afghans*. They were seldom paid regularly and sometimes the arrears consisted of even two years' pay. Sometimes for want of better subsistence they lived on water nuts.

The province yielded a revenue of about 20 to 30 lacs of rupees out of which a tribute of about seven lacs was remitted to the *Kabul* treasury. But this account was seldom utilised in any beneficent projects. The *Moghul* gardens were lying in ruins excepting *Shalimar* garden, which was well looked after. Magnificent *Mogul* palaces near *Hari Parbat* hill were heaps of ruins. The palaces were dismantled and the stones and other material were used for unimportant purposes. Taking into consideration the decline in trade and commerce a revenue of about thirty lacs was indeed very exorbitant. Revenue from *shawl* industry alone was computed at twelve lacs of rupees. "The price at the loom of an ordinary *shawl* was from eight to twenty rupees according to the quality of its work, though

shawls worth a hundred rupees were also manufactured. Best paper in the East was manufactured here and a wine 'resembling that of *Madeira*' was produced here which possessed excellent quality. Essential oils from roses were held in great estimation and yield an yearly income of more than a lac of rupees. Of the minerals iron of an excellent quality was found here. There were other industries which on account of lack of encouragement were languishing."

At other place Forster says that "the rupee is the current coin of *Kashmir* and that struck in Rohilcund is held in great estimation. From the baseness of the silver a large discount is allowed on that of *Kashmir*. Copper money of the value of a half penny and cowries, a small marine shell compose the other currency of the Province."

Forster has many harsh words for the *Kashmiris*. But in spite of all that he has had to say in their condemnation he has had to admit that even during those days of wanton cruelties and despotism "the *Kashmiris* are gay and lively people with strong propensities to pleasures. None are more eager in pursuit of wealth...or who devise more modes of luxurious expenses. When a *Kashmiri* even of lowest order, finds himself in possession of ten shillings he loses no time in assembling his party and launches into the (*Dal*) lake and solaces himself till the last far thing is spent. Nor can the despotism of an *Afghan* Government which loads them with a various oppression and cruelty, eradicated this strong tendency to dissipation, yet their manners it is said, have undergone a marked change since the dismemberment of their country from *Hindustan*."

The lot of the *Kashmiri Pandits* when compared to other people was indeed happier. Though at times they were very harshly treated, yet the political power was generally and largely centered in their hands. The local

bureaucracy was manned by them and some of them were employed in offices even at *Kabul*. Some others engaged themselves in trade and commerce and did good business both at *Kabul* and *Kashmir*. Whenever they found political firmament overcast with adverse clouds, they at once hurried to *Kabul* where they were always very well received, and stayed there till the return of better times. Along with this they had acquired to spirit of adventure which carried them in all parts of *India*: from *Mir Jaffar's Bengal* to Nizam's Hyderabad in the South, the *Kashmiri Pandits* had made their home everywhere. Moorcraft who came to *Kashmir* in 1822 A.D. found the *Pandits* as highest officers in petty *Muslim* principalities between *Kabul* and *Kashmir*. At *Kathai*, he found a *Kashmiri Pandit*, *Nidhan Kabu*, with a huge *Tilak* administration in his forehead, in charge of the administration in the principality. Even in the trans-border tribal areas there were *Kashmiri Pandits*. Forster while going to *Kabul* in 1783 A.D. was held up by a band of *Afghan* marauders near *Dicka* a border district of *Afghanistan* when a *Kashmiri Pandit* came to his rescue. Fortser says "Not finding anything of value on my person they were proceeding to treat with me with violence, when a *Hindu* of the family of *Diwan* of *Kashmir* (*Pandit Dila Ram*) who had known me in that country interposed his good offices and proposed a ransom for my releasement. This generous *Hindu* exerted so much warmth in my behalf and spoke so urgently to those marauders that one of them gave severe blow on the face. He did not however desist and by an active perseverance and supported by a small sum of money, he accomplished his purpose."

The social system of the *Pandits* was peculiar to themselves. They had evolved their own customs and a ritual very rich in detail for their guidance in matters

pertaining to marriages and *Yagnopavit* ceremonies. These customs were followed by them all over *India* and even now these customs are followed with a slight variation. They never married outside their caste and seldom ate food prepared by a non-*Pandit*. But in spite of this isolation in social matter, they fully imbibed the spirit of times. They used even private communications *Hejiri* era month and dates which were in use then and always carried their seals with themselves wherever they went. The religious function they performed according to *Hindu* calendar.

The scholarship of the *Pandits* in *Persian* reached its high watermark during this period. They wrote exquisite poetry in *Persian* and were master writers in prose. *Munshi Bhawani Das* stands preeminent amongst the prose writers of the day. So also *Lachhi Ram Saroor* who rose very high at the *Court of Nawabs of Oudh* mainly because of his high poetical merit. *Rai Rayan Anand Ram Karihalu* was a great favourite of *Shah Alam II* and a great poet. He was a great *Persian* and *Arabic* scholar. So also *Pandits* *Taba Ram Turki* (1776 A.D. to 1847 A.D.), *Sat Ram Baqaya*, *Pandit Daya Ram Kachru* (1743 A.D. to 1811 A.D.), *Aftab Bhan*, *Gobind Kaul*, *Kailas Dar* (died 1772 A.D.) *Lasa Kaul*, *Deva Kaul*, *Thakur Das*, *Gopal Dar* (1735 A.D. to 1798 A.D.), *Raja Kak Dar*, *Rugh Nath Kaul* (1735 to 1807 A.D.) and many others. The contributions made by them to *Persian* literature have elicited the significant remarks from competent critics that on the mastery of the *Persian* language the *Kashmiri Pandits* were second only to the *Persians*. About *Pandit Anand Ram Karihalu* it is remarked that his mastery of *Arabic* and *Persian* was so complete that even amongst the *Muslims* nobody could compete with him. *Pandit Birbar Kachru* (1789-1859 A.D.) to whom reference has been made in these pages has

written a voluminous history of *Kashmir*. He has dealt with social and economic conditions of the people in a very detailed and lucid manner. *Pandit Anand Ram Pahalwan* has carried the History of *Kashmir* by *Narain Kaul* from 1712 A.D. to 1785 A.D. *Birbar Kachru*, besides being a historian, wrote good poetry as well.

The *Kashmiri Pandits* of this period were very orthodox in religion, but that did not cripple their minds. In outdoor life they behaved and described themselves, as any other citizen would do. The use of worded *Banda*, *Bandai Khas*, *Bandai Dargah*, *Ahqar*, *Ibn*, etc. with their names would show this. Not only that. That offered sometimes their prayers also in *Persian* language, and prefixed even their Gods with such epithets as *Hazrat*, etc. Thus in a writing of 1155 Hejiri (1742 A.D.) we find "*Banda hai gulamani Hazarati Sharda Devi Bhawani Barai Qadmbos wa Gusul Dar Kurukshetra Raseed.*" They had indeed eagerness to have a dip in the holy tank at *Kurukshetra*, but did not hesitate in using expressions and style which were not strictly of an orthodox type.

Kashmiri Pandit of those days freely entered military service. They found their way into *Mohammedan*, *Marhatta*, *Sikh* and *English* armies. For instance in various writing we find :-

(a) *Bandai Dargah Rupchand Parimoo Sakini Kani Kadal dar Amli Nawabi Zain Khan Bahadur*, (2) *Anand Ram Valoo, hamrahi Lashkari Zain Khan Bahadur dar Risalai Qassim Khan* (3) *Mehar Chand Kaul Sakini Bagdaji Minmahlati Rainawari hamrahi Lashkari Zain Khan Bahadur.*

(b) *Banda Rupchand*, (2) *Bhawani Das*, (3) *Heeraman Pandit*, (4) *Sada Kaul hamrahi Lashkari Mohammad Said Khan Bahadur Rustan Jang Bahadur.*

(c) *Narain Pandit Sapru*, (2) *Vishinath Pandit Sapru*, (3) *Zind Ram Kaul*, *Hamrahi Lashkari Sidique Beg Khan Bagadur*.

(d) *Thakur Das Pandit Sapru*, (2) *Fatch Chand Kaul*, (3) *Sobha Shankar*, (4) *Gopinath Chhachabali*, (5) *Pandit Daya Ram walad Zind Ram*. This gentleman bore the title of a *Raja*.

(e) *Raja Sahib Ram Kaul*, (2) *Banda Bishnath*, and (3) *Bhawani Shankar hamrahi Lashkari Murshid Zada Ifaq Nawab Momamaduddoullah*.

(f) *Pandit Gangaram Bath hamrahi Lashkari Ambajee*.

(g) *Bandai Dargah Ram Narain Kaul uruf Kharu hamrahi Bubujee Scindhia Bahadur*.

(h) *Heera Kal Zutshi hamrahi Buhl Sahib kidar Aqbi fauji Lake Sahib rawana shuda bud*.

(i) *Kishen Chand Kaul hamrahi Lashkari Fraser Sahib*.

(j) *Ajudhianath, hamrahi Thomas Metecalf Sahib*.

With a few exceptions, all these gentlemen mention their residence in *Kashmir*. Here or there we come across with a Kashmiri Pandit who puts down his residence as *Shah Jehanabad*, etc. None of them used *Srinagar* as their residence. The name *Srinagar* had fallen into disuse and the city was described by the name of *Kashmir*. The name *Srinagar* was revived by the Sikhs after many centuries.

In this period also *Kashmir* fully maintained her fame for *Sanskrit* learning. *Shri Sundara Kantha* a great saint was a profound Shaiva philosopher. His disciple *Shri Shivopadhyaya* has written a learned and a lucid commentary on *Vijnana Bhairava* which is a treatise discussing 112 forms of meditation. It is written in the form of a dialogue between *Bhairava* and *Bhairavi*. *Shivo-*

padhyaya lived in *Kashmir* during Sukh Jiwan's reign (1754 A.D. to 1762 A.D.). Reference may also be made to *Pandit Sahib Ram* who was a great *Sanskrit* scholar. His profound scholarship has elicited highest praise from many *European* scholarship and his works have been referred to by many students of history.

There have been yet many other *Kashmiri Pandits* and *Panditanis* who have made colossal contribution to *Kashmiri* poetry. To mention only two of them reference may be made to *Pandit Parmanand* and *Shrimati Arini Mal*. *Pandit Parmananda's* poetry is primarily devotional saturated with religious mysticism. But he was not a believer in asceticism or aloofness from the world's cares and anxieties and responsibilities, though his primary aim in life has been to seek the "*Supreme Bliss*." In one of his poems, he says :-

"*Seek first the Supreme Bliss, O Parmanand, Then play fresh parts on life's stage, in rags of freshness clad...*"

In another poem of his, *Parmanand*, is more explicit. Says he :

*In this nine windowed and
three storeyed house,
The mind looks out now through
this gate now that;
Make fast the smallest outlet, hold him in;
Then seek the ethereal skies within.
There shines,
Eternal Sun who by unborrowed light,
Illumines the worlds—who rises not
nor see,
The burning breath of love will set
all things
Ablaze, like oil will water feed the flames,*

*The Ego melt to naught—that state is God.
The holy Sanctum seen, one need not be*

*Confined within, for God who lives
 enshrined*

*In peace within, in Beauty shines without.
Throw open all sense gates and let the mind
Move freely in or out at its sweet will—
It can's alight where there is aught
 but God."*

Shrimati Aranimal was the wife of *Munshi Bhawani Das*, an erudite *Persian* scholar to whom reference has been made in these pages more than once. Her lyrics are masterpieces in *Kashmiri* language and the word pictures of delicate sentiments drawn by her are so vivid, real and charming, that very few *Kashmiri* poets have reached the standard set by her. Some of her poems have been set to music and are sung even now by *Kashmiri* minstrels with great interest and gusto. Some of her poems have been translated into English by *Principal J.L.Kaul*, a cursory study of which is enough to establish the poetical genius and mastery of technique achieved by that unlettered woman.

Before bringing this review to a close reference may be made to a fact which would go a long way in proving the breadth of outlook and vision possessed by *Kashmiri Pandits* of this period. We have witnessed during this period a number of *Shia Sunni* riots, but not a single riot has taken place in which the participants were the *Kashmiri Pandits*. That the *Kashmiri Pandits* never gave a cause for grievance to any other community so as it provoke it to a

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riot, must go a long way in the eyes of any fair-minded critic to establish the cosmopolitan and broad outlook of the *Kashmiri Pandits*, though at the same time it may be mentioned that in their steady devotion to their own religion the *Kashmiri Pandits* were second to none in this world. But this taught them to respect other religions in an equal manner which in its turn gained them the devotion and friendship of an overwhelming majority of their own countrymen and others. This paved the path for their rise in all branches of life to great heights. And this secured them an abiding place in History.

AFGHANS

By
G.L. Kaul

The *Afghans* came in 1753 A.D. under the leadership of *Ahmad Shah Durani*. Once again *Kashmir* fell from the frying pan into the fire and became subject to the tyrannical rule. This period, says *Lawrence*, was a time of brutal tyranny, unrelieved by good work of chivalry or honour. The whole period was a period of cruel reign and anarchy. Flagrant tyranny was common everywhere. About twenty eight Governors ruled upon the throne of *Kashmir*. *Raja Sukh Jiwan* became Governor in 1754 A.D. and it was during his reign that the *Hindus* enjoyed some respite. He was defeated by *Nur-ud-Din Khan Bamzai* in 1762 A.D.

Lal Mohammad Khan (1766 A.D.) prosecuted the *Hindus* against all canons of chivalry. *Khoram Khan* was an unbiased Governor. He treated the *Hindus* well.

Mir Faqir Ullah Kant (1767 A.D.) took his head that since his father was killed and possibly at the hands of *Hindu* he should take a heavy toll. Naturally he killed some and converted many to *Islam*. *Khoram Khan* (1770-71 A.D.) second time quelled a rebellion which had occurred in *Kashmir*. *Haji Karim Dad Khan* (1776-83 A.D.)

punished the entire *Kant* family for intriguing against him with *Raja Ranjit Dev*, the *Raja of Jammu*.

Azad Khan (1782-85 A.D.) invaded *Poonch* with his troops which he plundered for a week. He was succeeded by *Madad Khan* (1785-86 A.D.) and there is a well-known proverb '*Zulmi Azad ra rasid Madad*' which means that *Madad* outhieroded *Azad*. In those days any *Muslim* who met a *Hindu* would say to him "*Butta chhuk to khosa dita*" (you are a *Pandit* and I will mount you). In the time of *Abdul Ullah Khan* (1796-1807), *Shah Shuja* of *Afghanistan* marched to *Peshawar* for the conquest of *Kashmir* but he was recalled by *Barukhazai* rebellions-1805.

A *Hindu* named *Dila Ram Kuli* won favour of *Haji Karimdad Khan* and was appointed *Dewan*. *Pandit Nand Ram Tikur*, a renowned *Kashmiri Pandit*, became Prime Minister of *Kabul* during the Governorship of *Mir Hazar Khan* (1793-94 A.D.). For sometime his name also appeared on the coins issued from *Kabul*. *Zairam Bhan*, a poor but sagacious *Pandit*, rose to the position of *Dewan* (under *Nasir-us-Mohammad*). *Abdullah Khan* is said to have amassed one crore of rupees within six months of his Governorship, this he took to *Kabul*. However, bad the times were, the *Hindus* did exhibit their worth to the world and that under the patronage of their masters.

The curse of this period was that Governors were not faithful to their masters. They always remained on the look-out to seize an opportunity when they would declare themselves independent. The result was that few constructive measures were contemplated and fewer still carried out. Says the poet-

Khwaist haq kin zamin-i-minarang
Chun dilai nai shawad ba Afghan rang

Kard bar wai musallat Afghan ra
Bagha Jamshed Dad dewan ra
"God willed that this paradise like land
should
become miserable like the heart of (Hukka)
Pipe with Afghan (or Gurgling noise)
caused Afghans to overrun it
Gave away the garden of Jamshed to demon."

This is another aspect of *Afghan* character. Even the so called heretic in their eyes could rise to the highest rung of the ladder. According to Dr. Sufi, *Moghuls* and *Pathans* discountenanced military service for *Kashmiris*. Elsewhere he says that *Brahmins*, *Shias* and the *Bamhas* were not treated properly (Kashir-677,699). They sometimes cut off heads for plucking flowers.

'Sar buredan pesh in sangreen dilan gul ast.'

CHAPTER XVII

SIKH RULE IN KASHMIR

By
G. L. Kaul

Abdullah Ullah Khan (1796-1807 A.D.) was defeated by *Sher Mohammed* of *Kabul* at *Dwabgah*. The latter appointed his son *Ata Mohammad Khan* as Governor of *Kashmir* (1807-13 A.D.) *Ata Mohammad* imprisoned *Shah Shuja* and afterwards entered into a league with him. They both were defeated but let off by *Sikhs* on promise of an annual tribute of eight lakhs of rupees. But they outwitted *Mohammad Khan* and conspired with the *Sikh General, Dewan Muhkam Chand*.

Shah Shuja promised to surrender the famous *Koh-i-Nur* and *Ata Mohammad* the fort of *Attock*. He thus struck a double bargain. *Wazir Fateh Mohammad Khan* appointed his brother *Sardar Azim Khan* as Governor of *Kashmir* (1813-19 A.D.). He refused to pay the annual tribute and even defeated the *Sikh* squadron in a battle. *Azim Khan* went to help his brother who was engaged in war at *Quandhar* leaving *Jabbar Khan* (1819) behind to rule in his place. He compelled the *Hindus* to celebrate the *Shivratri* festival in the month of *Har* instead of in *Phagan*. This was at last a demonstration of despotism. *Pandit Birbal Dhar* fled to *Lahore* and sought help from the *Sikhs*. *Ranjit Singh's* army had made two attempts so far but had failed. The sagacious *Pandit* promised them success. His wife had committed suicide while his daughter-in-law was seized and sent to *Kabul*. To avenge this insult he planned this

scheme. The *Sikhs* came over the *Pir Panchal*. Their army consisted of 30,000 strong. A decisive battle was fought at *Shopian* in 1819 A.D. in which *Pathans* were routed. Man and horse fell before the onslaught of the victorious and it almost came to a panic among the *Afghans*.

Ranjit Singh was a great general though illiterate. He was always ready with a short and decided reply to any report read out to him. His memory was excellent and he seldom forgot a thing. His only eye was quick and searching. He possessed acute and lively imagination. In action he was always collected, he was not without faults. In youth he was liberal while in old age he became parsimonious. Moorecroft visited *Kashmir* in [1822 A.D.] He gives a gloomy picture of what he saw. There is not mention anywhere that *Ranjit Singh* ever visited *Kashmir*.

The *Sikh* Governors, were hard and rough masters. Every *shawl* was taxed 26 p.c. upon the estimated value. A *Kotwal* had a pay of Rs. 30,000 for office.

If a *Sikh* killed non-*Sikh* he was fined from Rs.16 to Rs.20 out of which Rs.4 were paid to the survivors of the killed. *Kirpa Ram* (1827-31) was nick-named '*Kirpa Shroin*' (*shroin* being word for the sound of the boat paddle) so fond of boating he was. He is also said to have introduced crows to *Kashmir* thought to be necessary for the due performance of funeral rites. In 1831 A.D. a serious famine broke out in *Kashmir* which caused immense loss to the country. Some people even fled to the plains. In 1834 A.D. came the *Bamhas* under the leadership of *Sultan Zabardast Khan*. He was caught and imprisoned in *Srinagar*. To avenge this *Sher Ahmad*, the daring *Bamha*, destroyed seven thousand *Sikhs* at *Kahori* and marched with 8,000 match locks against *Kashmir* and defeated *Immad-din* with an army of 12,000 strong at *Shilbal*.

Thereupon *Zahardast Khan* was delivered back. This war weakened the *Sikh* hold in *Kashmir*. In the same year *Mohi-ud-Din* opened the gates of *Jamia Masjid* which had been closed since 1819 A.D. The famine of 1831 A.D. was closely followed by a great flood. A big earthquake and cholera broke out in 1827 A.D. which swept away bulk of the population.

The line of Emperors who proceeded from *Barbar's* loins are no more. The *Afghans* and *Sikhs* also have disappeared. The *Muslims* were, as a general rule, shortsighted people deadly opposed to time honoured institutions other than their own. Had they adopted a policy of toleration and respected the sentiments of the so-called 'heretics' they would have become objects of reverence and admiration. *Sikandar* and rulers of his type grew to be the bug bears of the people. This is unfortunately in nutshell the verdict of authentic history about some *Muslim* rulers in *Kashmir*. With all this the *Hindu* did not give up his study, however, much to penury he was reduced. He learnt the *Persian* tongue better than its pioneers. The *Muslims* sometimes appreciated the merit of *Hindus*. Instances have been quoted showing how the *Hindus* often rose to high power only through merit. Says the author of '*Emerald set with Pearls*,' "These Eastern potentates had some magnificent qualities and in some cases their administration was superior to our own." The population of *Kashmir* in the present days is about 17,28,705 and nearly 90 out of every hundred are *Muslims*. Nine hundred years ago there were no *Muslims* north of the *Punjab*. The *Sikhs*, on the other hand, were neither too good nor too bad but internal dissensions among the *Sirdars* brought about their early fall. It is true that the people under them would have been none the better because they were only a martial class first

and last with little vision to organise and to expand. In spite of about a quarter century of power in *Kashmir* the *Sikhs* did not expand beyond the valley. They were divided like the *Highlanders of Scotland*.

While fortunes of the country devolved on the finger of a ruler, apparently, sovereignty ultimately rested with the people. It was sometimes alliance between *Kashatrias* and *Brahmins*, *Brahmins* and *Buddhists*, *Brahmins* and *Nagas* and sometimes rift between *Sayyids* and *Kashmiris*, *Sunnis* and *Shias*. There was no period without unrest and outsiders always came with the co-operation of *Kashmiris* themselves.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE REVOLT IN KASHMIR, 1846

BY
R. R. Sethi

By the terms of the *Treaty*, which in March, 1846, closed the First Sikh War, amongst other things, the *Sikhs* ceded to the *British* all the hill country between the rivers *Beas* and *Indus*, "including the provinces of *Kashmir* and *Hazara*;" and "in consideration of the services rendered by *Raja Gulab Singh*, of *Jammu*, to the *Lahore State* towards procuring the restoration of the relations of amity between the *Lahore* and *British* Governments," the *British* agreed to recognise "the independent sovereignty of *Raja Gulab Singh*, in such territories and districts in the hills as may be made over to the said *Raja Gulab Singh* by separate agreement between himself and the *British* Government, with the dependencies thereof, which may have been in the *Raja's* possession since the time of the late *Maharaja Kharak Singh*;" further the *British* Government, "in consideration of the good conduct of *Raja Gulab Singh*," in such territories and *dis Sinto* recognise his independence in such territories, and to admit him to the privileges of a separate treaty with the *British* Government."

A week later, on March 16, 1846, was signed this separate Treaty with *Gulab Singh*, by which the *British* Government "transferred and made over, forever, in independent possession, to *Maharaja Gulab Singh* and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly and mountainous

country, with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river *Indus* and westward of the river *Ravi*, including *Chamba* and excluding *Lahoul*, being part of the territories ceded to the *British* Government by the *Lahore* State. "In consideration of this transfer *Gulab Singh* was to pay the *British* Government seventy-five lacs of rupees (*Nanakshahi*), fifty lacs to be paid on ratification of the Treaty, and twenty-five lacs on or before October 1, 1846, and in token of the supremacy of the *British* Government, was "to present annually to the *British* Government one horse, twelve perfect *shawl*-goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pairs of *Kashmiri shawls*." He further engaged "to join with the whole of his military force the *British* troops when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions;" and on their part the *British* Government engaged "to give its aid to *Maharaja Gulab Singh* in protecting his territories from external enemies."

Thus, it was that *Gulab Singh*, became the ruler of *Kashmir*. But he did not acquire actual possession of his new province without much difficulty.

One can easily imagine the jealousy which would be felt by a power at giving over, "in sackcloth and ashes," a rich tract of its territory to one who, only lately, was a subject of its own a powerful subject, all but independent, but still a subject acknowledging, perhaps, a more perfect allegiance than he paid. Then began intrigues, month after month passed away and still *Gulab Singh* was not in possession of *Kashmir*. We shall examine concisely the cause of this.

Kashmir was annexed to the *Sikh* dominions in 1819, and had thence-forward been administered by Governors from *Lahore* who were frequently changed. In 1846, the *Sikh* Governor, in charge of *Kashmir* affairs, was one *Sheikh Imam-ud-Din*, who is thus described by a contemporary writer:

"The *Sheikh* is, perhaps, the best mannered and best dressed man in the *Punjab*. He is rather under than above the middle height; but his figure is exquisite, as far as it goes, and is usually set off with the most unrivalled fit which the unrivalled tailors of *Kashmir* could achieve for the Governor of the Province. His smile and bow are those of a perfect Courtier, whose taste is too good to be obsequious; his great natural intelligence and an unusually good education have endowed him with considerable conversational powers; and his *Persian* idiom would do no dishonour to a native of *Shiraz*. Beneath this smooth surface of accomplishment and courtesy lies an ill-assorted and incongruous disposition: ambition, pride, cruelty and intrigue, strangely mixed up with indolence, effeminacy, voluptuousness and timidity. From such pluses and minuses what result can be expected but a moral cypher?"

Deeply engaged in the intrigues and revolutions of *Lahore*, *Sheikh Imam-ud-Din* was never to be found at any crisis and so completely were all his aspirations negated by indecision, that he spent the six months of his *Kashmir* Government in wavering between three different schemes for his own personal aggrandisement; doubtful whether to accept *Gulab Singh's* offer, and continue Governor on a salary of one lac per annum; to oppose the transfer of the Province to that Prince, which *Raja Lal Singh* told him should be a receipt in full for his *Kashmir* accounts; or to try to buy over the *British*, and make himself independent

sovereign of the loveliest valley in the world. We shall see presently that he chose the most senseless of the three; and to save himself from the consequences, on the first appearance of danger, he turned "King's evidence," and sacrificed his accomplice.

In his choice he was urged, it is said, by the influence of a wife, the daughter of the *Khan* of *Kohistan*, "proud of her kin and blood," and bigoted in her faith. *Imam-ud-Din* with the aid of feudatories took up arms to oppose the entry of *Gulab Singh*, and his troops obtained some advantages. *Gulab Singh* could not himself drive the recalcitrant *Sheikh* out by force of arms and the *British* Government had to intervene and coercive measures were restored to. Without an hour's hesitation, the Governor-General declared that the clause of the Treaty of *Lahore* by which *Kashmir* was to be transferred to *Gulab Singh* must be enforced and "that the *British* Government would give every possible support to the *Maharaja Gulab Singh* in compelling the servant of the *Darbar*, the *Sheikh Imam-ud-Din* to evacuate *Kashmir*, holding the *Darbar* responsible for the acts of their officers, in this gross violation of the Treaty."

The *Lahore Darbar* was asked to place at *Maharaja Gulab Singh's* disposal from one-half to two-thirds of the force at any or all of the stations between the *Ravi* and the *Attock* and to desire their Officers Commanding within that tract instantly, on receipt of the *Maharaja's* requisition, to move on such points as he might desire and to act on his instructions. The *Darbar* was further instructed to proclaim to their border subjects that the property of persons taking up arms against *Maharaja Gulab Singh* would be confiscated. The *Maharaja Gulab Singh* was advised to

combine mercy with energy in coercing the rebels and to offer an amnesty for submission up to a certain date.

In the meantime a letter was addressed to the *Sikh* officers and soldiers in *Kashmir*, informing them that an English army had been ordered to support the *Maharaja*. "I warn you" wrote *Henry Lawrence*, "that if on receipt of this order you separate from the *Sheikh* and return to the Panjab, your lives will be spared and your arrears will be paid."

The Governor-General on September 15, 1846, ordered six Regiments of Native Infantry, two Regiments of Irregular Cavalry, and twelve Field Guns, under Brigadier Wheeler, commanding the *Jullundur Doab*, to be held in readiness to move fully equipped for field service from *Jullundur* towards *Jammu*, for the purpose of protecting the *Maharaja's* rear in his absence.

The *Maharaja* did not wish *British* troops to go to *Kashmir* but was anxious that they should hold *Nowshera* (above *Bhimbar*) for him for the double reason, that it was a troublesome country, and, that by so forward a movement, people might be led to suppose that they would advance into *Kashmir*.

Accordingly, the Governor-General on September 22, 1846, addressed the Commander-in-Chief, requesting him that the Brigadier might be ordered to advance. "The object of the movement," the Governor-General wrote, "is to enable *Maharaja Gulab Singh* to move all his disposable forces on *Kashmir*, by protecting his rear from the confines of our frontier up to *Jammu*, a distance probably of between 60 and 70 miles, in the country between the *Ravi* and *Chenab* rivers at the foot of the hills which divide the *Maharaja's* territory from the plains.

The troops selected by the *Lahore Darbar* for the *Kashmir* expedition were :-

Under *Sardar Sher Singh*-his own troops, the *Kohistani* (Mountaineers), about 5,000 in number; four guns.

Under General *Doab Singh*-two regiments.

Under General *Kahan Singh*-two regiments.

Lahore troops, under General *Imam Singh*-two regiments; two guns.

Moreover, ten other guns and all necessary munitions were got ready at *Lahore* under the direction of Captain Brind. Various officers were dispatched to collect carriage and supplies in *Rawalpindi*, *Jhang*, etc.

And then was seen the very remarkable spectacle of the *British* Agent marching at the head of the *Sikh* troops, supported by *British* forces, to wrest *Sikh* territory from *Imam-ud-Din* in order to hand it over to the last of those *Rajput* brothers, who had always inspired the *Sikhs* themselves with intense jealousy.

These vigorous measures had the desired effect of showing not only to *Gulab Singh*, but also to the *Shaikh* in *Kashmir*, and the *Vazir* in *Lahore*, that no difficulties which could be created by hostile combinations, or intrigues, would be allowed to stand in the way of carrying out the Treaty. The very first fruits were the revelation of *Raja Lal Singh*'s treachery. No sooner did *Puran Chand*, the *Shaikh*'s *Vakil*, find that the *British* were in earnest, than with admirable decision he chose his side, and determined to save his master by throwing *Raja Lal Singh* over-board.

THE SURRENDER OF SHAIKH IMAM-UD-DIN.

Lieut. H.B. Edwards, the Assistant Political Agent, who had been deputed by the Governor-General to keep Government informed about the proceedings in *Kohistan* and *Kashmir*, and to advise *Maharaja Gulab Singh* 'at the present junction,' reporting the substance of conversations he had held with *Puran Chand*, the *Shaikh's Vakil*, in a letter dated the 17th September, 1846, observed that the *Vakil*, repeatedly asserted that his master, the *Shaikh*, had been secretly instigated in his resistance to *Maharaja Gulab Singh* in *Kashmir*, by communications sent to him by the *Vazir*, *Raza Lal Singh*, and that the *Shaikh* possessed letters to that effect written by his *Vakil* and signed by *Raja Lal Singh* at *Lahore*.

"If these suspicious circumstances shall subsequently be verified," wrote *F. Currie* to *H.M. Lawrence*, "*Lieut. Edwards* may assure the *Shaikh* that if he (as his *Vakil* declares, he can) does prove the truth of the *Vakil's* declaration, the *British* Government will visit the offence of a *Lahore* servant, acting under the orders of his Government upon that Government, and not upon him, and will ensure his personal safety, if without further resistance he abandons his desperate enterprise and delivers himself up to the *British* Political Agent."

Negotiations were then opened between *Lieut. Edwards* and *Shaikh Imam-ud-Din*, and the latter expressed his willingness to evacuate the valley and come over to *Lahore* but he was afraid that his *Jullundur Jagirs* would be confiscated and that he would be charged for the arrears of his troops. Hence he wavered and sought

assurances before he finally gave up. He was assured that if he left *Kashmir* immediately with the property he possessed, either with or without his troops, his life would be spared and his past conduct forgiven, and that if he could prove that he had resisted at the instigation of the *Lahore* authorities, he would retain his property and would be exempted from rendering any account to the *Darbar*. But he was told that his *Jagirs* in *Jullundur* could not be restored, for as a resident in the *British* territory and as a *Jagirdar* under the *British* Government he had disobeyed its orders. This caused the *Shaikh* to pause.

On October 6, the Adjutant-General of the Army ordered Col. Reed, commanding at *Ferozepur*, to march Her Majesty's 62nd Regiment, three regiments of Native Infantry, two regiments of cavalry and twelve guns on to *Lahore*. Major-General Sir John Littler . was ordered to move Her Majesty's 80th Regiment, three regiments of Native Infantry and twelve guns on to *Sialkot*. Lieut. Lumsden was to join the *Sikh* troops, which had already left *Lahore*, at *Rajouri*. , lest they should halt short of their destination. On October 11, *Brigadier Wheeler* was ordered to move the forces under his command so far as *Bhimbar*, but was instructed on no account to proceed beyond that. He, however, received instructions from *General Littler*, on October 19, ordering him to cross with his forces to the right bank of the *Chenab*, the forces under *Littler* . being stationed on the left bank ready in 24 hours to form a junction with *Brigadier Wheeler* to advance on *Bhimbar* . or *Nowshera*, whenever required to do so.

This mobilisation of troops further proved to the *Shaikh*, the hopelessness of his resisting any longer, and detached from him some of his most valuable adherents.

Reports now, from different quarters, confirmed the news that the *Shaikh* was yielding to the persuasions of the deputies and had made preparations for his departure to *Lahore*. *Puran Chand*, and *Fateh Khan* arrived in *Kashmir* on October 1, and delivered the written pledge of *Lieut. Edwards* to *Imam-ud-Din*. No sooner had the *Shaikh* read this encouraging letter, than trusting entirely to the leniency and generosity of the *British* Government he raised the siege of *Hari Parbat*; called in his men to their respective camps, exhorted the Kings of the *Kohistan* to put down the rebellious spirit they had raised and set himself to work in earnest to write similar orders to every part of the country, *Maharaja Gulab Singh's* servants imprisoned in *Kashmir* were released and *Mirza Faqir Ullah* was ordered to set free those in confinement at *Rajouri*.

Before leaving *Kashmir*, *Imam-ud-Din* wanted still to make sure of the action the *British* Government would take against him. So he sent *Fateh Khan* and *Puran Chand* and two of his confidential agents, *Rattan Chand* and *Mirza Ahmed*, with a letter to *Lieut. Edward*, whom they met at Seyouth, ten kos from *Rajouri*. e on October 15. *Edward* had already promised to meet the *Shaikh* on his way to *Lahore*. *Imam-ud-Din* requested him to come up to *Bairamgulli*, *Edward* offered to meet him at Thana, 8 or 9 miles from *Rajouri*. , and wrote to him that the *British* Government would not interfere with his *Kashmir* property, nor allow the *Lahore Darbar* to call him to account, if he could prove the complicity of the *Lahore Darbar* in the rebellion. Arrangements would also be made to save any possibility of a collision between *Imam-ud-Din's* troops issuing from *Kashmir* and the *Maharaja's* and the *Sikh* forces marching into the valley.

In the meanwhile, on October 12, *Mirza Faqir Ullah* of *Rajouri*, the mainstay and ally of *Shaikh Imam-ud-Din*, had written a humble letter of submission to *Edwards*, wherein he declared his readiness to submit as soon as the satter reached the *Rajouri* border.

The *Mirza* wrote another letter to the *Maharaja's Moulvi*, offering to submit provided the *Moulvi* got him "the *Maharaja's* necklace as a pledge of good faith." Taking on himself the responsibility of his safety, *Edward* asked *Faqir Ullah* to come at once and the *Maharaja* too agreed to the request of the *Mirza*. On October 18, at 10 A.M., attended by about thirty followers, this master mechanic of the *Shaikh's* plans, the firebrand of the rebellion, the 'Lord and leader' of the insurgents and the deadly enemy of His Highness came and made his submission to *Maharaja Gulab Singh*.

The army still advanced, and had reached the fort at the *Bairamgulli Pass* into *Kashmir*.

Soon it was reported that the *Shaikh* was preparing to depart, having promised to start on the 9th Katik 1803 (October 23, 1846). He hoped and also believed that no crime would be "proved against him." "The *British* had ordered him to leave and leave he would," he gave out, "he would not stay another moment in that place, though he should be forced in consequence to halt a day or two on the road to collect coolies." On October 23, the *Shaikh* finally communicated, "I have this day departed from the city of *Kashmir*, though my preparations for the march were far from complete."

He proceeded about three miles from the city where it took him a day or two complete his arrangements. He wrote to *Maharaja Gulab Singh*, "My Lord, I have ever been your servant and son. The reply which you sent to my

humble epistle has inspired me with confidence. May God keep you on your throne to all eternity! You tell me to come and make my submission. I am honoured by receiving your commands and I hasten to obey them. You have taken me by the hand, now deal with me as you think I deserve. My good and bad qualities I have confided to you. It is for you to estimate the sum of them." Leaving the valley on October 25, and proceeding via *Shopian* the *Shaikh*, worn out with a forced mountain-march of forty miles, in the course of which he had been drenched in a snow-storm, reached *Bairamgulli* on October 31. Surrounded by his officers made his submission to Lieut. *Edwards*, who on the following day, conducted him to the camp of *Henry Lawrence* at *Thana*, the latter having a few days earlier come up with the army. On the next day the forces under the command of Major-General *Sir John Littler* . were ordered to withdraw and *Brigadier Wheeler's* soon followed. Thus ended this bloodless rebellion.

Maharaja Gulab Singh entered the city of *Kashmir* about 8 A.M. on November 9, 1846,(it has been declared the auspicious time by the astrologers) and found his sowers in entire possession of the place; *Sardar Sujan Singh*, with the garrison of *Shergurhi*, about 3,000 men, and the family of *Shaikh Imam-ud-Din*, having moved off two days previously. To avoid their line of march, the *Maharaja* made a detour on his road from *Shopain*, and fell in with *Henry Lawrence* at *Pampur* on the evening of the 8th. It was thought that His Highness would prefer entering his capital by himself, and therefore he was given the opportunity doing so, but the meeting at *Pampur* led the *British Agent* to imagine that the *Maharaja* was willing to sink his dignity in the increased opinion of the *British*

support that his formal accompaniment would afford His Highness.

Maharaja Gulab Singh having been established in power, *Henry Lawrance*, "with his usual energy" as *Lord Hardinge* describes it, returned at once to *Lahore*. The next thing to be done was to bring *Raja Lal Singh* to solemn trial and exposure before all the *Sikh* Chiefs, for secretly instigating *Shaikh Imam-ud-Din* in the treacherous opposition to *Gulab Singh*; the defeated *Shaikh*, having turned "King's evidence" against his late accomplice. He placed in *Henry Lawrence's* hand at *Thana*, three original documents, purporting to be instructions from *Lal Singh* to oppose *Gulab Singh*; and to the officers and soldiers on *Kashmir*, to be faithful and obedient to the orders of the *Shaikh*. These papers were put in as evidence at the subsequent trial of *Raja Lal Singh* for his complicity in this affair.

It would not be out of place here, before we close, to review the more striking features of this *Kashmir* expedition.

One cannot help noticing here that the *Sikh* troops, who had only very recently fought against the *British* under the same officers who now led them, unwilling as they were in their hearts to support *Gulab Singh*, whom the *Khalsa* hated thoroughly, acted admirably in these operations, and thus drew warm commendations from *Lord Hardinge*. Moreover, these operations afforded to the *Sikh* troops an opportunity of manifesting the improved state of their temper and discipline, by the alacrity with which they obeyed the order they received at *Lahore*, and the cheerfulness and patience with which they endured the privations of scanty supplies and long marches in a mountainous country. This service had been performed on

the requisition of the *British* Government. "His Lordship," writes *F. Currie* to *H.M. Lawrence*, "will be much gratified by having the opportunity of acknowledging the services rendered in so admirable a manner by an army whose military qualities were last year experienced in the field on the banks of the *Sutlej*-and this year have been displayed in maintaining by the most zealous co-operation with the *British* forces and those of *Maharaja Gulab Singh*, an important article of the Treaty of *Lahore*, the violation of which was threatened by *Shaikh Imam-ud-Din*, employed by the *Lahore Darbar* in the Government of *Kashmir*."

Properly considered this feat of compelling the culpable *Lahore Darbar*, with its chief conspirator, *Raja Las Singh*, at its head, to make over, in the most marked and humiliating manner, the richest province in the Panjab to the one man most detested by the Khalsa, was the real victory of the campaign; and its achievement must continue an enigma to every one who remembers that it was performed by 10,000 *Sikh* soldiers at the bidding and under the guidance of two or three *British* officers within eight months of the battle of *Sobraon*.

This conjuncture was described by *Henry Lawrence* in a letter to *Kaye* (published in his *Lives of Indian Officers*, Volume II, page 298) as—"that ticklish occasion when I took the *Sikh* army to *Kashmir*, and when I was obliged to tell *Lal Singh's Vakil* that if anything happened to me, *John Lawrence* was told to put the *Raja (Lal Singh)* in confinement. The fact was, I knew he was acting treacherously, but trusted to carrying the thing through by expedition, and by the conviction that the *British* army was in our rear to support and avenge

CHAPTER XIX

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND MAHARAJA OF KASHMIR

By
William Digby

GOVERNMENT PAPERS
EAST INDIES
PAPERS RELATING TO KASHMIR

No. 1

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA to the
SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR INDIA (EARL OF
KIMBERLEY), dated Simla,
April 7, 1884

EXTRACT

We have the honor to address your Lordship on the subject of the *Kashmir* State.

The three principal facts which it is necessary to notice are that the death of the *Maharaja Ranbir Singh* is apparently near at hand; that the administration of the *Kashmir State* is so thoroughly disorganised as to threaten a complete breakdown, and that the heir-apparent to the Chiefship is said to be unfitted in character and habits to govern the State. The first two of these facts we have

unfortunately been in a position to anticipate for anticipate for a long time past. The *Maharaja* has been suffering for years from a mortal disease; while the recent famine afforded convincing proof of the corruptness and inefficiency of the administration of *Kashmir*. We have also heard from time to time unsatisfactory accounts of the heir-apparent, and it has of late been reported that his father entertained some idea of setting him aside by a testamentary disposition. In our judgement, the time has now come for determining the course which the *British* Government should adopt on the death of the *Maharaja*; and we therefore proceed to lay our views before your Lordship.

Turning first to the question of the succession to the present Chief, we are of the opinion that the eldest son, *Mian Partab Singh*, should be proclaimed at once when his father dies. We do not consider that we can take cognizance of the vices attributed to *Partab Singh* unless they have reduced him to a condition of actual incapacity, which does not appear to be the case; nor do we think that in this matter we should be justified in attaching any weight even to the wishes of His Highness *Ranbir Singh*. For the general interests of peace and good order among the Native States, no encouragement should be given to the idea that an eldest son can be set aside at the will of his father; and we hold that in practice nothing but the clearest evidence of actual incapacity to rule should be allowed to stand in the way of a regular succession by order of primogeniture. Further, we are entirely opposed to permitting any partition of the *Kashmir* State, by will or otherwise, among the three sons of the present Chief.

Feeling confident that our opinion upon these points are in accord with established policy, we have anticipated

your Lordship's orders by issuing the instructions necessary for the guidance of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Oliver St. John, K.C.S.I., the Officer on Special Duty, in case of an emergency arising. In the meanwhile we do not think it desirable formally to announce to the *Maharaja* that a will affecting the succession could not be recognised, because this course might raise unpleasant discussions. But the Officer on Special Duty will avail himself of any good opportunity for intimating to His Highness that such a will would not be expedient.

On the succession of the new Chief, it will not, in our opinion, be proper to postpone any longer a representation of our views upon the necessity for introducing substantial reforms into the administration of *Kashmir*. The misgovernment to which the people of that country have long been subjected was sometime since prominently brought to our notice by Mr. Henvey. We did not take action at once, conceiving that a more favourable opportunity would present itself on the occurrence of a fresh succession—an event which seemed unlikely to be long postponed. When that event takes place, we consider that it will be our duty to impress upon the *Kashmir* Government its obligations to its own subjects, and to see that the reforms which are so urgently needed are no longer postponed. With this view we would propose, immediately on the occurrence of the next succession, to inform the *Maharaja* that we regard the present state of affairs as most unsatisfactory, and that substantial reforms are required. We would if possible lead the new Government to propose the measures necessary to give effect to this policy, but we should require that their execution should be entrusted to competent hands. While firmly insisting upon the necessity

for a change, we should avoid any direct interference with administrative details.

We are however, sensible that, if our advice is to be effectual, it may be necessary to alter the present arrangement under which our representative remains in the *Maharaja's* territory for a portion only of the year. Such a change would probably be welcomed by the people of *Kashmir*; and as it would not be introduced until after the death of *Maharaja Ranbir Singh*, his feelings in the matter would be fully respected. It is a measure which may be called for, not merely by the need for assisting and supervising administrative reforms, but also by the increasing importance to the Government of *India* of watching beyond the North-Western frontier of *Kashmir*. Any disturbances which continued misgovernment might create in *Kashmir* would be acutely felt on the frontiers of *Afghanistan*; the connection between *Kashmir* and its dependent Chiefships would in all probability be severed; and grave political complications might easily ensue. We have therefore to consider the necessity for providing for efficient political supervision not merely in the interests of the people of *Kashmir*, but also in the interests of the people of *India*. Under these circumstances we are anxious to obtain from Her Majesty's Government authority to appoint, if it should appear to us necessary, at any time after the death of the present *Maharaja*, a Resident Political Officer, who will exercise a general supervision over the affairs of the *Kashmir* State. We do not propose that this officer, if appointed by us, should hold any actual position in the Government of the State, nor do we think that it would be necessary to give him special powers in the Province of *Kashmir*. It will suffice if he occupies, with regard to *Jammu* and *Kashmir*,

the position and powers ordinarily given to a *British* Resident in a feudatory State.

The *British* Government are not debarred by any engagement, express or tacit, from posting a Political Officer permanently in *Kashmir*; and we see no reason why an arrangement which has been accepted without demur by such a *State* as Hyderabad should not be adopted in regard to the *Kashmir* State. If this view is correct, the only question which arises is, whether existing circumstance do not render it desirable to give us the authority we seek.

No.2

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR *INDIA* to the
GOVERNMENT OF *INDIA*

MY LORD MARQUIS, *India* Office, May 23, 1884.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of the letter of your Excellency's Government, dated the 7th April, relating to *Kashmir* affairs.

2. In anticipation of the death of *Maharaja Ranbir Singh*, which is believed to be near at hand, your Excellency in Council has had under consideration (1) the course to be adopted in regard to the succession; (2) the measures which should be taken on the commencement of a new reign, in order to secure reforms in the administration of the State; and (3) the expediency of a change in the existing arrangements for the representation of the *British* Government at the *Maharaja's* Court.

3. Your Excellency in Council is of opinion that any attempt on the part of the *Maharaja* to exclude his eldest son from the succession should be discouraged, and that *Mian Partab Singh* should be proclaimed immediately on his father's death; you propose to require from the new ruler substantial reforms in the administration, and to insist

upon their execution being Majesty's Government discretionary authority to appoint, at any time after the death of *Maharaja Rambir Singh*, a *British Resident* in *Kashmir*, with the position and powers ordinarily given to such an officer in a feudatory State.

4. While I regret to receive so unfavourable an account of the character of the *Maharaja's* heir, I agree with your Excellency's Government in regarding as inexpedient any deviation in the case of *Kashmir* from the regular succession by order of primogeniture, or any partition of the State, by will or otherwise, among the three sons of the present Chief. I approve, therefore, of the instructions in accordance with this view, which I understand to have been sent to the Officer on Special Duty in *Kashmir*.

5. As to the urgent need of reforms in the administration of the State, there is, unfortunately, no room for doubt. It may, indeed, be a question whether, having regard to the circumstances under which the sovereignty of the country was entrusted to the present *Hindu* ruling family, the intervention of the *British* Government on behalf of the *Muhammadan* population has not already been too long delayed; but, however this may be, Her Majesty's Government are satisfied that, upon a fresh succession, no time should be lost in taking whatever steps may be requisite in order to place the administration upon a sound footing.

6. The same occasion would, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, be a suitable one for introducing a change in the present arrangement under which your Excellency's representative remains in *Kashmir* for a portion only of the year.

7. In 1846 it was decided not to appoint a political officer to reside permanently at the *Maharaja's* Court, whilst in 1837, when the measure was recommended by *Lord Northbrook's* Government, the necessity for it did not seem to Her Majesty's Government to be so clearly established as to justify them in disregarding objections which were expressed by authorities entitled to respect. But in the interval which has since elapsed, circumstances have greatly changed; and whether regard be had to the condition of the country, to the character of the Prince into whose hands the Government will shortly pass, or to the course of events beyond the border, which has materially increased the political importance of *Kashmir*, the appointment which you request a discretionary authority to make appears to be not only desirable but necessary. Your Excellency in Council is, therefore, at liberty to proceed in the matter as you may think proper at any time after the death of *Maharaja Ranbir Singh*, taking care meanwhile that strict secrecy is observed as to your intentions.



No.3

The GOVERNMENT OF INDIA to the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL), dated Simla, October 19, 1885

EXTRACT

We have the honour to forward correspondence relative to affairs in the *Kashmir* State.

The demise of the late *Maharaja Ranbir Singh* was announced to your Lordship by telegram on the 12th September; and the papers now enclosed will acquaint Her Majesty's Government with the steps we have taken to carry out the policy approved by Lordship *Kimberley's* dispatch, dated the 23rd May, 1884. The succession of *Partab Singh*, the eldest son of the deceased *Maharaja*, to the undivided Chiefship of *Jammu* and *Kashmir* has been recognised and confirmed. The position of the Political Officer in *Kashmir* has been placed on the same footing with that of Residents in other *Indian* States in subordinate alliance with the *British* Government. The attention of the new ruler has been drawn to certain measures of reform which we consider essential to remedy the long-standing misrule in His Highness's territories. At the same time the *Maharaja* has been assured that we desire to leave the initiation of these measures in his hands, to abstain from unnecessary interference in his affairs, and to allow him all legitimate discretion and a liberal period of time for the execution of a work which is as difficult as it is necessary.

Your Lordship will perceive that the change in the Political Officer's appointment has evoked a remonstrance from the *Maharaja Partab Singh*. We were prepared for

some opposition in this matter on the part of the Durbar, and, as the question has been fully considered and finally settled, we have declined to enter into any further discussion on the subject.

We trust that our proceedings may meet with the approval of Her Majesty's Government.

Enclosure 1 in No.3

From the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Foreign Department, to the OFFICER ON SPECIAL DUTY IN KASHMIR, dated Simla, August, 1, 1884

EXTRACT

I am directed to convey to you the instructions of the Governor-General in Council upon the condition of affairs in *Kashmir*.

In case of *Maharaja Ranbir Singh's* death, his eldest son, *Mian Pertab Singh*, will succeed to the undivided Chiefship; the new *Maharaja* will be called upon to introduce such reforms as may seem to be necessary; and a Resident political officer will be stationed in *Kashmir*. It remains to inform you of the precise steps which the Governor-General in Council desires you to adopt for carrying out these arrangements.

So long as *Maharaja Ranbir Singh* is alive, the Government of *India* do not propose to make any change in their existing policy. His Highness should be quietly dissuaded, if he refers to you on the subject, from executing any testament in favour of the partition of his territories; but it will not be necessary for you to make any formal communication to His Highness upon this matter; or to

travel beyond existing practice in recommending to him administrative reforms, or other desirable measures. You should abstain from any allusions to the subject of changes in the existing position of the Officer on Special Duty in *Kashmir*, and you should avoid as much as possible anything which is calculated in the *Maharaja's* present state of health unnecessarily to disturb his mind. It is of course desirable that you should use your influence, as far as you can, even during the life of the *Maharaja*, for the improvement of the condition of *Kashmir*; but the Governor-General in Council wishes to treat His Highness with the utmost consideration; and, as any substantial reform would probably involve a very unpalatable degree of interference with his proceedings, it will be sufficient if, during the remainder of his life, you can preserve the administration of the *State* from any material change for the worse.

If at any time the *Maharaja's* death should appear to be very near at hand, you should make arrangements to join His Highness at *Jammu*, or wherever he may then be, and to prevent any disorder occurring. If his illness should unfortunately terminate fatally, you should take the earliest opportunity of announcing that the Viceroy is pleased to recognize the succession of *Mian Pertab Singh* to the Chiefship, and you should formally install the new Chief on the gaddi of *Jammu* and *Kashmir*.

At the same time you should inform His Highness, and the members of his Durbar, of the views and intentions of the *British* Government in regard to the future administration of the State. You should give them clearly to understand that His Excellency the *Viceroy* regards the existing condition of affairs in *Kashmir* as most unsatisfactory; and you should warn His Highness and

those about him that substantial reforms must be introduced without delay. You should then announce that, with the view of aiding His Highness in the introduction and maintenance of those reforms, the Viceroy has decided to give His Highness the assistance of a resident English officer, and that for the future the *British* representative in *Kashmir* will have the same status and duties as the Political Residents in other *Indian* States in subordinate alliance with the *British* Government.

It is important, in order to avoid uncertainty and the risk of disorder, that this announcement of the intentions of the Government should take place without delay, and that they should be clearly and fully understood both by the *Maharaja* and by all others concerned when he is installed. The recognition and installation of the new Chief should be as prompt and formal as possible, and nothing should be omitted that can have the effect of assuring His Highness of the goodwill of the *British* Government; but, while treating the *Maharaja* with the utmost friendliness and courtesy, you cannot speak too plainly in regard to the Viceroy's views and intentions.

Immediately after the news of *Maharaja Ranbir Singh's* death reaches the Government of *India*, a letter addressed by His Excellency the Viceroy to the new chief will be sent to you for delivery. A draft of this letter is enclosed for your information. When you receive the signed copy of this draft or before you receive it, if the ceremonies connected with the change of rulers should afford you an opportunity of speaking earlier, you should invite the *Maharaja* to indicate the reforms which he may consider it necessary or desirable to introduce; and you should ask His Highness to inform you of his views with regard to the persons whom he would propose to place in

charge of the administration. It will not be expedient to bring in a Minister from elsewhere if a sufficiently well qualified local candidate can be found; and as far as possible the Governor-General in Council would wish to leave the *Maharaja* free to form his own Government. Any proposals, therefore, which His Highness may put forward on this subject Will be tentatively accepted, unless you see decided reason to object to them as holding out no prospect of success.

You will notice that the draft to the *Maharaja* impresses upon him the necessity for consulting you fully at all times, and following your advice. You should therefore not hesitate to offer your advice freely whenever you may think it desirable to do so; the more particularly because, owing to the peculiar conditions under which the *Maharaja* will succeed to the Chiefship, it will be necessary that his administration should for a time at least be closely supervised; the condition of *Kashmir* must be thoroughly; and the Governor-General in Council cannot allow this object to be frustrated by any obstruction or procrastination on the part of the Durbar.

I am now to enumerate, for your information and guidance, the principal measures of reform which appear to the Governor-General in Council to be necessary after any arrangements required for the immediate alleviation of distress, if distress exist, have been adopted and carried out. In the opinion of the Governor-General in Council those measures are: the introduction of a reasonably light assessment of land revenue, collections being made in cash if on examination this seems to be a suitable arrangement; the construction of good roads; the cessation of *State* monopolies; the revision of existing taxes and dues, especially transit dues and the numerous taxes upon trades and

professions; the abolition of the system of farming the revenue, wherever this system is in force; regular payment in coin; the establishment of a careful system of financial control; the removal of all restrictions upon emigration; the reorganisation and regular payment of the army; and the improvement of the judicial administration. In order to afford the *Maharaja* all possible help in the introduction of such reforms, the Governor-General in Council will if necessary grant His Highness a loan from Imperial revenues, and will also be willing to place at his disposal, for a time, the services of any officers of the *British* Government who may seem specially qualified to assist the new administration in carrying out the measures contemplated. Such assistance seems to be more particularly required with regard to the revision of the settlement and the construction of roads. The pay of any officers transferred must, however, be found by the *Kashmir* State.

With reference to the relations existing between *Kashmir* and the States upon her northern border, the Governor-General in Council does not think it necessary at present to issue any detailed instructions. The question is an important one, and will require your close and constant attention. You should be kept accurately informed of all movements of troops and other noteworthy occurrences in the direction of the frontier; and you should be prepared to advise *Maharaja Partab Singh* freely on all matters of frontier policy. But at present the Governor-General in Council has no special instructions to give you on this subject.

I am to add that if the death of *Maharaja Ranbir Singh* occurs during the *Kashmir* season, and you find yourself obliged in consequence to leave *Srinagar* for

Jammu, you should on starting hand over the charge of your current duties to the Agency Surgeon or other qualified officer. The Governor-General in Council is willing to leave to your discretion the question of the route by which you should go to *Jammu*; but he desires me to suggest to you that your passing down by the direct route through *Kashmir* territory might have a good effect in maintaining quiet and order. And I am to say that it is very desirable not to move any *British* troops across the border if this can possibly be avoided. If it becomes absolutely necessary to do so, the special sanction of the Government of *India* should be obtained before any movement is made.

I have only to remark in conclusion that circumstances may evidently occur to which the terms of this letter will not be strictly applicable. The *Maharaja Ranbir Singh* may die suddenly in your absence, or his life may be unexpectedly prolonged. *Mian Partab Singh* may be absent from *Jammu* at the time of his father's decease, and it is even possible that before that event occurs he may become actually incapacitated for rule. These or similar circumstances may render some departure necessary from the letter of the instructions now given to you. But the Governor-General in Council relies with confidence upon your judgement in the event of any such contingency, and has no doubt that the instructions now given to you will suffice for your guidance in all matters of practical importance. If necessity arises they can hereafter be modified.

Enclosure 2 in No.3

FROM RESIDENT in *Kashmir* to SECRETARY
TO THE GOVERNMENT OF *INDIA*, Foreign
Department. *Jammu*, 16th September, 1885

EXTRACT

I have the honour to report my arrival here yesterday morning, my journey having been much delayed by the bad state of the road. At *Verinag*, late at night on the 12th, I received a telegram from Mian *Partab Singh*, the heir-apparent, informing me of the death of his father, *Maharaja Ranbir Singh*, at 4.30 p.m. that day.

From conversation with *Dr. Gopal Chander*, His Highness's medical attendant, and others, I learn that, about the 29th August, the *Maharaja*, who was still weak from the effects of the fever from which he had suffered two months ago, had an attack of dysentery, which the medicines given him failed to relieve. He grew rapidly worse, but was under no apprehension of a fatal result till 24 hours before his death, when, finding that the forgiveness and return of a Brahmin whom he had exiled many years ago, and under whose curse he was persuaded by a seer he was labouring, failed to give him any relief, he made up his mind that his end was at hand. He then enjoined his sons to live in peace with one another, and told *Partab Singh*, the eldest, to complete the good works he had begun. He also ordered that the contract for the sale of liquor in *Jammu*, recently sold for 40,000 rupees, should be canceled and the sale of spirits forbidden as heretofore; and further directed that the toll levied on persons crossing the Tavi river by ford should be discontinued, and that fire-wood and vegetables should for the future be allowed to enter *Jammu* free of duty. At four in the afternoon he

became insensible, and according to *Hindu* custom was removed from his bed to the floor, where he breathed his last afterwards.

The next day, the 13th, the *Maharaja's* body was burned on the bank of the Tavi river with great ceremony in the presence of a large multitude. The corpse is said to have been enveloped originally in forty coverings of *shawl* and other rich stuffs, interspersed with gold coins and jewels of great value placed thereby the women of his harem; but I am told that all but thirteen of the wrappers were taken off by the attendant *Brahmins* before the body was placed on the pile. The whole of the *Maharaja's* ward-robe, jewels, riding horses, with seven elephants, and a number of cattle, besides a very large sum in cash, the whole estimated at from five to ten lakhs of rupees, were set aside for distribution among the *Brahmins* or to be sent to holy men in the neighbourhood. All business was suspended, and all shops ordered to be closed; but the next day this order was so far relaxed as to allow provision dealers to carry on their trade through one leaf of their shop doors. All Government employees, including the soldiers, shaved their heads and faces, excepting only *Sikhs*, Mussulmans, *Brahmins*, and those *Rajputs* connected with the *Maharaja* by marriage. White garments are worn by all, and ornaments of every description laid aside.

The period of mourning extends over thirteen days, and the Minister, *Diwan Anant Ram*, whom I saw immediately after my arrival, made some difficulty about my seeing the new *Maharaja Pertab Singh* before its expire. The duties of religion, he declared, absolutely debarred the chief mourner from touching or even sitting on the same carpet with any other human being, till its close. Thus my reception in Durbar would be impossible.

Under these circumstances it became impracticable to carry out to the letter the instructions conveyed in your letter of the 1st August, 1884, a formal installation of the new *Maharaja* on the gaddi being incomparable with the earliest possible announcement of his recognition, and the delivery of His Excellency's message as to the views and intentions of the *British* Government. It seemed to me, however, all-important that there should be no delay in these last, and I therefore told the *Diwan* that it was imperatively necessary that I should see the *Maharaja* at once. He replied that if I would consent to forego the usual ceremonies of reception, and had no objection to sitting on the floor (it being impossible to admit any article of furniture into the room with the *Maharaja*), His Highness would be glad to see me.

Accordingly, at five in the afternoon I went to the Palace, where I was received by *Mian Amar Singh*, the late *Maharaja*'s youngest son. In an inner room opening from the Durbar Hall I found the *Maharaja* sitting on a small square carpet covered with white cotton. A similar one was placed by its side for my accommodation. After I was seated all present left the room, entirely contrary to custom (I have never had an interview with the late *Maharaja* without two at least of his Council being present). After a few sentences of compliment and condolence, I told *Pertab Singh* that I had a message for him from the Viceroy, to be delivered in the presence of his Council. He replied that he had not yet appointed a Council, to which I answered that it was to the members of late *Maharaja*'s Council that I referred. He then called in *Diwan Anant Ram* alone. It was clear that an unpalatable communication was anticipated, and that it was hoped to confine it to as small a circle of hearers as possible. I therefore said that the message I had to deliver was not private and confidential though very

important. On the contrary I had hoped to deliver it to His Highness in Durbar, but this being impossible I begged that he would call in at least *Babu Nilambar* and *Diwan Gobind Sahai*, who I knew were waiting outside. On this *Pertab Singh* ordered them to come in. On their seating themselves I told His Highness that His Excellency the Viceroy had ordered me in the first place to lose no time in announcing that His Excellency is pleased to recognise his succession to the Chiefship. This was received with expressions of gratitude and loyalty, the *Maharaja* rising and bowing his thanks. I then gave him the message contained in your letter, translating it sentence by sentence into *Hindustani*, only using the words "*Kashmir* and *Jammu*" instead of "*Kashmir*" only, as it might have been asserted afterwards that the message referred to *Kashmir* only, and not to the whole State.

The first part of the message referring to the introduction of reforms was received without any mark of surprise by my auditors, but the announcement of the immediate appointment of a Resident was evidently an unexpected blow.

I then took leave of the *Maharaja*. In the evening *Babu Nilambar* called on me with reference to another subject, and asked that I would explain, for the *Maharaja*'s information, what was meant by the 'assistance of a Resident.' Did it imply that the Resident would take an active part in the administration of the country? I told him that I could not undertake to define the exact duties of a Resident, but that he would certainly leave all the active work of administration to the Durbar, while claiming the right to be made acquainted, should he require it, with all its details. He would give advice if asked for, and on any

point he thought proper unasked; and in this latter case would expect his advice to be followed.

Today Babr *Nilambar* called on me again, accompanied by *Diwan Anant Ram*. They brought a message from the *Maharaja*, begging me to use my influence to obtain for him a short delay before the appointment of a Resident, in order that he might get the credit for the reforms he had long made up his mind to introduce if ever he got the opportunity. It is unnecessary to detail the long conversation that ensued. *Babu Nilambar* finally acknowledged that the main objection was to the name 'Resident.' To this I replied that at the present juncture putting aside other arguments, the name was all-important. The *Maharaja* and his counselors appeared to me to underrate vastly the difficulty of the task before them. It was one thing to order reforms and another to carry them out. In remedying the abuses which were ruining the country, they would have opposed to them the entire army of employees, high and low, who had been fattening on the land for years. The public appointment of a Resident would show these officials that there was something beyond caprice or the zeal of a new ruler in the reforms initiated at *Jammu*, and they would soon recognise that they must be carried out. As the same time the people at large would welcome the appointment of a Resident as an assurance while anxious to do all in my power to meet the *Maharaja's* wishes, I regretted that I could not recommend to his Excellency any delay in the formal appointment of a Resident.

The state of affairs seems to be somewhat to be somewhat as follows :- The death of *Wazir Punnu* (who fell down dead in Durbar on the 6th instant) was a stroke of extraordinary good fortune for the opposite party,

represented by *Diwan Anant Ram* and *Babu Nilabhar*. It not only removed their most powerful adversary, and the man who had the greatest influence with the present as with the late *Maharaja*, but it also keeps the country quiet without any effort on their part. The name of *Punmu* was a bye-word and a reproach among the people, and all the tyranny and oppression from which they suffered was invariably laid to his door, not always with justice. Had he survived his old master, he would have been the leading spirit in the Councils of the new Chief, and the people, hopeless of improvement, would probably have made rebellious demonstrations, which, with an army eighteen months in arrears of pay, would not have been easy to suppress. But *Punmu* died six days before *Pertab Singh* succeeded to the Chiefship, and the people, overjoyed at their deliverance from the man whom they believed their sole tyrant, are probably indifferent to the change of rulers, and will remain quite in confident anticipation of early relief from their burdens.

Another fortunate circumstance for the new Chief is the general prosperity of the Country, as far as it can be prosperous under such a Government. The late spring rains caused some loss in the low country and the outer hills, as did the summer floods in *Kashmir*, but the agricultural out-turn for the last year has everywhere been exceptionally high, and the prospects of the crops now in the ground are excellent. Commerce is shown by the *Punjab* trade reports to be steadily improving in spite of the vexatious restrictions placed on it. Thus, as far as the country itself is concerned, *Maharaja Pertab Singh* and his counsellors have everything in their favour. At present he is looking for advice to *Babu Nilambar* and *Diwan Anant Ram*. The first is clever and well-intentioned, but without practical

experience of administration and deficient in force of character. The *Diwan* is perhaps well meaning, but his bringing up inclines him to lean to the old way of managing the country, and he is weak and cunning. They are, I fear, wholly unable to cope with the difficulties which will meet them in improving the administration, should they made any real effort to do so. Certain simple reforms, such as the abolition of obnoxious imposts and export dues and the more regular payment of officials, they may effect, but it will, I fear, be hopeless to look for any serious improvement in the administration generally, without constant and heavy pressure, and material interference in details.

A probable early source of trouble will be the influence possessed over the new *Maharaja* by his personal followers. These, who are mostly men of the lowest class, are already beginning to assert themselves, and to offer to help their friends to lucrative employment. It can hardly be long before they and the party of *Nilambar* and *Anant Ram* come into conflict. The latter will not have the courage to lean on the Resident, and govern as *Salar Jang* did in Hyderabad in spite of the Chief, but will try to trim with the usual consequences. On these Points I will write more fully as the situation develops itself. For the present I have only pointed out to *Anant Ram* and *Nilambar* the urgent necessity for paying the troops, and for relieving the export trade of the country from its burdens. They will not, or cannot, give me any information of the actual state of the finances, except that the public treasury is practically empty. I have every reason to believe, however, that the late *Maharaja* regularly diverted the revenue of certain districts to his private chest. Some of this was devoted to religious purposes, but popular report has it that he has left

large sums hoarded in obscure forts in different parts of the country. It is also said that he solemnly enjoined that this money should never be used to meet the current expenditure of the State, and no doubt, if it exists, every effort will be made to keep it intact, or at all events to spend it on no useful object. The annual customs contract expires in the course of a month or two, and this will be a favourable opportunity for a revision of the tariff, which should entirely free the woollen and metal trades of *Kashmir* from the heavy export duties to which they are now subject. This will give an impulse to production in *Srinagar*, which should tide the artisan class over the winter, of which the prospects are exceptionally bad owing to the final collapse of the *shawl* trade in *Europe*, and the paucity of visitors in the valley this year.

The *Maharaja* ends his mourning on the 26th when he will take his seat in the Durbar. This will be the proper opportunity for the delivery of the *kharita* from his Excellency the Viceroy, of which a copy was enclosed with your letter of the 1st August, 1884.

KHARITA, dated Simla, the 14th September 1885, referred to in last paragraph of above Enclosure

From His Excellency the VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA to the MAHARAJA OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR

I have received with deep regret the news of the death of your father, *Maharaja Ranbir Singh*; and I wish to assure you without delay of my sincere sympathy.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh rendered valuable service to the *British* Government. I feel that his loss is the loss of a friend; and I wish that it had not fallen to me, during the

period of my Viceroyalty, to consider the measures rendered necessary by this unfortunate event.

It is now my duty to inform you, on behalf of the Queen-Empress of *India*, that I recognise and confirm your succession to the Chiefship of *Jammu* and *Kashmir*. I trust that Your Highness's life may be long and prosperous; and that, in all difficulties, of whatsoever kind, you will rely with confidence upon the good-will of the *British* Government, which will never fail you so long as you are loyal to the Crown and earnest in the desire to rule your *State* with justice and moderation.

Your Highness has before you a difficult task. During the illness of your father the administration of the *State* became seriously disorganised, and it will be necessary for you to introduce many reforms. But my Agent, *Sir Oliver St. John*, will remain with you and help you to the utmost of his ability; and I feel confident that with his aid all your difficulties will be successfully met and overcome. I request your Highness to refer to him for a more detailed explanation of my views regarding the future administration of the *Kashmir* State; and I hope that your Highness will not fail to consult him freely at all times, and to be guided by his advice in carrying those views into execution.

Enclosure 3 in No. 3

Government of India & Maharaja of Kashmir

From MIAN PERTAB SINGH to His Excellency the
VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF
INDIA

Jamm
September 18, 1885.

Your most esteemed Excellency,

I beg to offer my heartfelt thanks for your Excellency's kind message of condolence on the demise of my father, whose devoted loyalty to the *British* Crown won for him those assurances of personal friendship from your Excellency which he valued so highly, and of which he felt so very proud.

I have also to present my grateful thanks to your Excellency for the most welcome message conveyed to me on the 15th instant by *Colonel Sir Oliver St. John*, the officer on Special Duty in *Kashmir*, that your Excellency has been pleased to recognise my succession to the gaddi of this State, and I hope by the blessing of God to let your Excellency have the satisfaction of learning before long that I am as fully alive to the undoubted and immense importance of conscientiously discharging my duties towards my subjects by doing all in my power to secure their best happiness, as I am awake to the supremely important duty of giving renewed proofs of loyalty to the *British* Government by following in the footsteps of my father and grandfather.

I do not hesitate to admit that the existing state of affairs in *Kashmir* and *Jammu* urgently requires immediate introduction of substantial reforms into the administration

of the country, and now that I have power commensurate with my responsibilities, I beg to assure your Excellency that nothing shall be spared on my part, and no time will be lost to prove beyond any possibility of doubt that it is my ambition to succeed in making my country a model of a well-governed *State* in alliance with the Government of *India*.

It has, however, pained me extremely to learn that exactly at the time when I have made up my mind to deserve and win your Excellency's approbation and encouragement by proving myself equal to the onerous and responsible duties of a good ruler, your Excellency has been thinking of changing the status of the *British* Officer on Special Duty in *Kashmir* to that of a Political Resident, and thus lowering me in the eyes of my subjects and in the estimation of the public. It is fully known to your Excellency that I have only just now acquired the power of showing to the world that, without any interference from any quarter or any, the smallest, diminution of long-enjoyed rights and dignity of this State, I am able and willing of my own accord to introduce and maintain such reforms as are calculated to entitle a ruler to the lasting gratitude of his subjects, and encouraging approbation of the paramount power as well as the public at large.

I may submit to your Excellency that I am fully aware of the wise and benevolent principles which guide the Supreme Government of *India* in its relations with Native States, and I have not the least doubt that your Excellency will estimate me not by the pomp of my retinue, but by my conduct towards my subjects and by the only standard of good Government combined with sincere and active loyalty.

I am confident, also, that I have to convince your Excellency of the purity of my intentions, the earnestness of my purpose, and the firmness of my determination to govern well, to win your Excellency's sympathy with me in my desire to see the position of the Officer on Special Duty in *Kashmir* unaltered in his relations with this State.

I have sufficient confidence in the unbiased justice of your Excellency's Government to hope that your Excellency will not form any unfavourable opinion of my abilities, intentions, and character, till the result of my administration for a sufficient length of time should justify a definite conclusion, and that your Excellency will see no necessity for altering the status of the Officer on Special Duty in *Kashmir*, and that, therefore, there will be no occasion now for my waiting personally on your Excellency at Simla, to give your Excellency the trouble of taking into serious consideration the sanads of Her Imperial Majesty's Government, securing to the Chiefship the full enjoyment of all the rights of my father and grandfather, and to submit to your Excellency the grounds on which I attach so much importance to the credit of earning the reputation of a just and benevolent ruler without any meddling from any quarter, and of preserving intact in all its relations the integrity of the *State* as inherited from my father as well as of endeavouring to exalt its dignity in the estimation of the paramount power by doing exactly what the ruler of a large and important *State* should do.

Requesting your Excellency to excuse the trouble I have given you, I beg to subscribe myself, etc.

Enclosure 4 in No.3

From PRESIDENT IN KASHMIR, to
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF
INDIA, Foreign Department,

Dated Jammu, Sept. 27, 1885

EXTRACT

In continuation of my letter of the 16th, I have the honour to report that *Mian Pertab Singh*, eldest son of the late *Maharaja Ranbir Singh*, formally took his seat in the Durbar on the afternoon of the 25th instant.

The previous day the morning of the 25th had been occupied in distributing gifts to *Brahmins* by the river side, at the place where the late *Maharaja's* body was burnt. In addition to a large sum of money, these gifts consisted of 13 sets of everything that had been used by the *Maharaja* in this world, including horses, cows, and other domestic animals, but only one elephant. The total value is estimated by public opinion at two lakhs of rupees, but was probably less. The remainder of the *Maharaja's* effects, with a sum of five lakhs from his private treasury, are retained to be added to the fund consecrated by him to the perpetual use of the temples, which fund last year already amounted to 15 lakhs.

On concluding the distribution of the gifts destined to facilitate his father's passage to Paradise, *Maharaja Pertab Singh* returned to the Palace, and performed the ceremony of "*dAstarbandi*," i.e. tying on of the turban, which marks the close of the period of acute grief.

At 5 p.m. I paid the *Maharaja* a formal visit to congratulate him on his accession. The kharita of his Excellency the Viceroy had already been delivered to him

privately, to put an end to further useless argument on the question of the "Resident," and to avoid mention of the topic in Durbar, which would have been very distasteful to the Chief. Instead therefore of reading the *kharita*, I made a short speech in Urdu, of which a translation is attached (Enclosure A.).

Babu Nilambara Mukherji then read a manifesto in English, a translation of which in Urdu was subsequently read by *Diwan Anant Ram*, followed by the proclamation alluded to.

The imposts and customs mitigated or abolished are as follows:-

- (1). The custom of "khodkasht." This is a system by which the *State* forms a part of the village lands itself. Advances are annually made to the persons employed for the purpose, but it is notorious they embezzle the money, and cultivate the land with forced labour, and seed extorted from the villagers.
- (2). The custom of "leri." This is a system of paying sepoy and others by remission of rent, instead of in coin, and for some reason not easily explained, is much disliked.
- (3). Each group of ten houses in *Jammu* territory will no longer, as before, be obliged to supply one Sepoy or other Government servant; forcible enlistment generally is abolished; and the rule of obliging families to provide substitutes for deserters is done away with.

(4). The customs duty on rice and other provisions brought into *Srinagar* for sale is reduced from two *annas* in the rupee to half an *anna*, in other words from $12\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{8}$ per cent.

To understand the severity of this tax is must be explained that Government itself is the principal grain dealer, and fixes a permanent rate at which grain is sold. Thus the rate for unhusked rice is Rs. 1-4 (English) per *kharwar*, equivalent to about 10 *annas* a *man*. If a *Zamindar* sends rice to market, he can ask no more for it than 10 *annas* a *man*, and has in addition to pay the customs contractor $1\frac{1}{4}$ *anna* before he can offer it for sale. Under these conditions it is clear that the remission of three-fourths of this tax will benefit the producer, and not the consumer, who will pay the same price for his rice as before.

(5). The next impost remitted is also in favour of the *Zami-ndar*. Every large village community in *Kashmir* comprises a "*Zillahdah*," or "*Harkara*," whose business it is to report the misdeeds of his fellows. The *Durbar* affect to look on these officials as rural police; but as they are occasionally women, and have no powers beyond reporting, spies would be a better name for them. They are paid by a cess of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the gross produce of the land. Some years ago it occurred to *Wazir Punnu* that the *Zillahdars* were making too much money, and he therefore made their chief, the *Harkara-Bashi* (head-bringer of news) pay an annual sum to the treasury. This has been raised till it now amounts to 60,000 *Chilki* rupees (37,500 English), a great deal more than the estimated total

value of the cess from which it is supposed to be paid. This most obnoxious impost is now abolished, but the *Zillahdars* are warned that they must continue to send in reports, and that if found extorting anything beyond the legitimate 1 1/2 per cent they will be punished.

(6). The tax on the sale of horses in *Kashmir*, called "*Zari-i-Nakas*," which at one time amounted to 50 per cent of the purchase money, is abolished.

(7). The tax on "*Ekhas*" plying for hire to Sialkot, which amounted to Rs. 1-11 on a total of Rs. 2-10, is abolished, and some other minor dues are remitted.

On the whole the above constitute a valuable boon to the people, especially to the cultivating classes of *Jammu*, whose main grievances are now removed. Sensible relief is also given to the *Kashmir* peasant; but the artisan of the towns, whose needs are greater, gets nothing but a slight possible reduction in the price of fruit and vegetables.

Yesterday afternoon I had a private interview with the *Maharaja*, at which only *Diwan Anant Ram* and *Babu Nilambara Mukherji* were present. According to my instructions I asked him to let me know what reforms he proposed to initiate, and to what persons he proposed to entrust their execution. As regards reforms he would only refer me to the manifesto (Enclosure B), repeatedly declaring with reference to both reforms and ministers that he required time to reflect. At last he said that he entrusted *Babu Nilambara* with all business connected with finance, while *Diwan Anant Ram* would continue as before to conduct foreign affairs, which he defined to be those of

Ladakh and *Leh*, and correspondence with myself. I told the *Maharaja* that I was going back to *Kashmir* for the present, but that I should return before long, and hoped that by that time he would have matured his schemes for reform. I could not, however, leave without doing my utmost to impress on him the imperative necessity of relieving the manufacturing classes of *Kashmir* from the present burdens on trade. I then tried to explain the question to him, but the only answer to be obtained was that he would think it over. I should here remark that I had previously discussed the question with *Babr Nilambara*, who tried to argue that the Government of *India* should do something in return for concessions on this point. Of course I replied that our only object was to benefit the *Kashmir* Government and the people, who are the only sufferers from the insane policy of imposing crushing duties on their own manufactures. I fear that much pressure will be required to bring about this most essential reform.

As mentioned in my former letter, *Maharaja Ranbir Singh* is said to have left considerable private wealth. *Babu Nilambara* tells me that this is certain, but that neither he nor anyone outside the household have any idea of the amount. The public treasury, or rather treasuries, for there are many in *Jammu* itself, are empty, but money has been produced from the Palace (2 3/4 lakhs) to pay the troops up to the end of the last *Hindu* year, for which they had as yet received nothing. This leaves them only five months in arrears. The troops in *Kashmir* have already been paid.

My impression as regards the new *Maharaja* is that, though entirely wanting in the quick wit of his father, he has inherited a full share of his obstinacy and cunning. He will consent to certain surface reforms, but on the cardinal points of delegating real power to his ministers, freeing

trade, improving communications, and making a proper land settlement, he will, I fear, offer as much opposition as he dares.

Babu Nilambara and *Diwan Anant Ram*, freed from the fear of *Wazir Punnu*, seem to think themselves strong enough to go on alone without the support of a Resident, which they formerly declared to be essentially necessary. They will soon find themselves mistaken, but in the meantime had better be left to themselves. On this account I am glad to return to *Kashmir*, for which I start to-morrow, inspecting the cart-roads enroute. On this work, the completion of which is an essential preliminary to the greatest of the reforms required in *Kashmir*, a proper land revenue settlement, I will submit a full report at the earliest opportunity. I will also, while in *Kashmir*, ascertain the exact burdens now imposed on the export trade which are constantly varying.

I have seen with regret that His Highness keeps his younger brothers, *Ram Singh* and *Amar Singh*, and his cousin, *Raja Moti Singh*, of *Poonal*, at a distance. I have let him know that I think this a mistake, and have exchanged visits with them for the first time. During the late *Maharaja's* reign overtures to this effect met with no response.

ENCLOSURE A

Your Highness! I beg to offer you my congratulations on your accession to the place occupied by your father and grandfather, whose loyalty and devotion to the *British* Crown you will, I feel sure, do your utmost emulate.

No Chief in *India* has ever succeeded to the gaddi with more opportunity for doing good. The *State* of *Jammu* and *Kashmir* has fallen behind the majority of the States of *India* in that progress which is necessary to the welfare of the people and the good name of their rulers.

It is Your Highness' good fortune to have it in your power to remedy these shortcomings; and, though the task will be a difficult one, I feel assured that you will address all your energies to it. The Government of *India* will take the warmest interests in your efforts to improve the administration of your *State* and the condition of your subjects of every class; and the eyes of all enlightened persons in *India* will be fixed on you to see how you perform the duties for which you are now responsible.

It is my earnest hope to be able before long to congratulate you on ruling over a country foremost on *India* for good Government and happy subjects as it is for loyalty and devotion. May your Highness' reign be long and prosperous, and may your name be handed down to posterity as the *Nowshirwan* of *Jammu* and *Kashmir*.

ENCLOSURE B

Sir Oliver St. *John* Sardars, and Gentlemen,

My heart and cordial thanks are due to His Excellency the Viceroy, and his worthy representative and my sincere friend, *Sir* Oliver St. *John*, for the kharita, recognising my succession to the Chiefship of this large and important State, and I take this fitting opportunity to declare publicly, that of the many arduous and responsible duties which I shall have to perform as the ruler of this State, the foremost under all circumstances will be the duty

of following in the footsteps of my illustrious grandfather and his lamented Highness, in giving substantial proofs of unswerving and devoted loyalty to Her Imperial Majesty's Government, and, when the necessity will arise, of placing all the resources of my country at the disposal of his Excellency the Viceroy, and of personally joining the *British* army with the whole of my military force.

2. Next in importance to my obligations to the paramount power, but next to those only, will be the duty of governing my country with justice and moderation. The responsibilities which I am going to undertake will be high and heavy indeed, but I believe God will grant me firmness and strength enough to discharge them with credit to the family of my renowned ancestors, and benefit to the lakhs of subjects, whom it has pleased Providence to place under my care.

3. I have before me the difficult task of introducing substantial reforms in the administration of the country, but I believe I have only to look the difficulties boldly in the face and show a determined front, to achieve complete success and earn the reputation of a just and good ruler. Armed with purity of intentions and firmness of purpose, I may reasonably entertain the hope of being able to clear the administrative agency of all corruption and incompetency, and impart to it the maximum of honesty and efficiency. I now warn my officials of all ranks that I have fully made up my mind to put down corruption and intrigue wherever they may be found, and I hope they will do all in their power to help me in making my administration a blessing and a source of unmixed good to my people.

4. I know that the paramount power as well as the public will watch with interest the progress and development of my measures of reform, and I am fully

alive to the fact that they will estimate me not by the pomp and splendour of my court and retinue, but by the amount of happiness that I may secure to my subjects.

5. I need not trouble you now with minute details of what I intend to do, but I think I can declare without committing myself to any particular measure the policy and the general principles that will guide me in the conduct of my affairs. I shall adopt such measures only as are calculated to secure to my subjects their greatest good and the fullest enjoyment of their rights and privileges, and shall conduct my administration so that the tiller of the soil will enjoy a fair share of the produce of his labour, and the manufacturer the fruit of his skill and industry, that every facility will be given to commerce by improving the means of communication and removing unnecessary and vexatious restrictions, that every encouragement will be offered to get all the resources of the country properly developed, that adequate measures will be taken to give my subjects the benefits of sound and useful education, that ample provision will be made for the relief of the sick and the suffering, and that real merit and worth in my subjects will be recognised and fostered without any distinction of race or rank, creed or colour.

6. To commemorate this auspicious accession with a few acts pointing to the character of the policy I am going to follow, I do now abolish and reduce certain duties and taxes, and remove certain restrictions detailed in the proclamation which my *Diwan* will read out to you.

No.4

The SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA to the
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

India Office, London,
27th November, 1885.

My Lord,

Para.1. I have to acknowledge of the receipt of the letter of Your Excellency's Government, dated the 19th ultimo, reporting the measures which have been taken in reference to the *State of Kashmir*, in consequence of the death of *Maharaja Ranbir Singh* on the 12th September.

2. When in the spring of the year 1884 the death of the *Maharaja* was supposed to be imminent, Her Majesty's Government, in accordance with recommendations submitted by the Government of your Excellency's predecessor, decided that, upon the occurrence of that event, His Highness's eldest son should be recognised as successor to the undivided State, but that he should be required to introduce substantial reforms into the administration, and to entrust their execution to competent hands. The Government of *India* was also authorised, at its discretion, to substitute for an Officer on Special Duty in *Kashmir* a Resident with the same position and duties as Political Residents in other Native States in subordinate alliance with the *British* Government.

3. The papers now received from Your Excellency's Government show that, the contingency contemplated in 1884 having arisen, the utmost consideration has been shown to the susceptibilities of *Maharaja Pertab Singh* in giving effect to the policy then determined upon. His Highness has been informed that, within reasonable limits, he will be allowed full scope and ample time to introduce the requisite administrative reforms, and will get the full credit for initiating them, while it has properly been pointed out to him, in reply to his objections to the proposed change

in the status of the representative of the Government of *India* at his court, that an arrangement, which is considered suitable in the cases of the other great Princes and Chiefs of *India*, cannot be regarded either as derogatory to the dignity of the *Kashmir* State, or as indicating a desire on the part of the paramount power to interfere unnecessarily in its internal affairs.

4. I have to express my full approval of the proceedings of Your Excellency's Government in this matter. Having regard to the condition of the country, to the character of the new ruler, and to the aspect of affairs beyond the frontier, in reference to which *Kashmir* occupies so important a position, I entertain no doubt as to the necessity for the measures now reported, which will, I trust, conduce to the material well-being of the people of the State, and tend to the better security of imperial interests

(Signed)

RANDOLPHS. CHURCHILL.

No.5

The GOVERNMENT OF *INDIA* to the SECRETARY OF STATE,

Dated Simla, August 18, 1888

EXTRACT

In March last *Mr. Plowden* thought the time had come when, for the sake of the State, it was essential to effect some reduction of the *Maharaja's* authority. There is no doubt some justification for *Mr. Plowden's* estimate of

His Highness's capacity for rule; but, on the other hand, the condition of the *State* does not seem to demand at present such decided action as *Mr. Plowden* has suggested. We have, therefore, determined not to resort to measures which would have the effect, directly or indirectly, of taking the power out of the *Maharaja's* hands, and His Highness will now have another opportunity of showing under favourable circumstances whether he is capable of carrying on the administration.

Enclosure 1 in No.5

REPORT on the Affairs of the STATE of *JAMMU* and *KASHMIR* by the RESIDENT in *KASHMIR*, dated Sialkot,

March 5, 1888

EXTRACT

I have had more opportunities of studying the *Maharaja's* character than perhaps any other officer in the country. My intercourse with him, official, private, and social, has been frequent; my relations with him have been always friendly; there has never been any friction or tension between us. He has never failed in personal courtesy to me, nor ever refused to see me at any time or on any occasion; therefore, I can fairly say that I am not actuated by any feelings of personal dislike towards His Highness.

I think, however, that the Government of *India* should be under no illusion as regards *Maharaja Pertab Singh*. From first to last I have failed to discover in him any

sustained capacity for governing his country, or any genuine desire to ameliorate its condition, or to introduce those reforms which he has acknowledged to be necessary. More than two years have passed since his accession, but not only has he achieved nothing, but he has opposed beneficial measures proposed by others. The progress made has been in spite of him. I do not believe he is loyal, but fortunately he is powerless to carry his country with him. And I am convinced that the Government will commit a serious mistake if it believes that the reforms which the country urgently needs will ever be effected by *Maharaja Pratap Singh*. He will never, of his own free will, establish a capable and honest administration; nor, if any power of interference is left him, will he permit any administration appointed by the Government of *India* to carry on the business of the country. He will thwart and oppose in it every way he dares; the only restraint will be the limit of his powers and his fears; therefore I do most earnestly advise that the *Maharaja* be made plainly to understand that he had his chance, and that he will not be allowed any longer to stand in the way. I would assign him a liberal income, to be placed at his absolute disposal, and treat him with full honour as titular Chief; but I would exclude him from all real power. He may reign, but not govern. A great danger with the *Maharaja* is that his notorious weakness of character and purpose render him an easy tool in the hands of an unscrupulous adviser, and therefore it is essential that he should be controlled by some agency upon which the Government of *India* can place confidence. I consider that a reduction of the *Maharaja's* authority on these lines is an essential condition precedent to all other necessary measures.

Next, as to the form of Government. One plan is to appoint *Raja Amar Singh* Prime Minister, on condition of his undertaking to carry out in all respects the policy of the Government of *India*. He has not got sufficient experience or solidity of character to execute a task of this magnitude without the aid of a resolute and experienced adviser, and it would be necessary to constitute some such office as "Secretary to Government," and to nominate to it a suitable *British Officer-Native or European*. I have great doubts whether *Raja Amar Singh* can be trusted, and, unless he has a strong officer at his elbow to keep him straight, I do not think it would be safe to employ him. He has never forgotten his father's intentions on his behalf, and the object he is working for is to become *Maharaja* of *Kashmir*. Once he gets power into his own hands, he will use it without scruple to attain this end. At present the *Maharaja* is friendly to *Raja Amar Singh*, because he wishes to break the bond which unites the two younger brothers and *Diwan Lachman Das*, but there is no genuine affection or confidence between them; and the well-known fact that the late *Maharaja* would have liked to supersede *Pertab Singh* in favour of his youngest brother is a special cause of jealousy.

And I should expect that, after a short time, all the influence which the *Maharaja* possesses, especially *Zenana* influence, would be brought to bear again *Amar Singh*. Another probable result of his elevation would be a feud between him and his brother *Ram Singh*, thereby raising against him another hostile party.

Another plan is to bring a Prime Minister from elsewhere. There is no one in the *Maharaja's* employees fit for the post, and the selection would need particular care. The situation is this: no Native could administer the affairs

of *Jammu* and *Kashmir* unless he is not only of exceptionally strong character but also exceptionally honest; and, in any case, he would require besides the full support of the Government of *India*. If a weak man is chosen he will succumb to local intrigue, notwithstanding all the support which the Government may give him; and, if he is not honest, he will yield to the temptations with which the place abounds, and go with the swim. But, if a Native Minister is brought in from outside, I recommend precautionary measures being adopted with the young Rajas. I should order each of them to take up his residence in his own jagir, and so occupy the same position as *Raja Moti Singh*, of Punch. It is not right that these young men should be given large jagirs which they never visit. It ought to be a condition of the grant that they reside on their property and be personally responsible for its administration. They might pay yearly visits to *Jammu* just as *Moti Singh* does. Another good result of this measure would be to lay the foundation of a class of Sardars such as exist in the *Rajput* States. As long as *Raja Ram Singh* continues to command the *State* Army there is no hope of any serious re-organisation; and, if *Raja Amar Singh* were to remain at *Jammu*, he would not leave a stone unturned to render the Prime Minister's position untenable.

A third plan is to continue the existing Council, making the Resident its temporary head, and strengthening it by the addition of two selected Natives. An administration so constituted would probably be strong enough to introduce all needful reforms, and to set the country in order. Three years would suffice to set things straight, and the Resident might then withdraw from the headship of the Council, and an administration be established on ordinary Native lines.

I believe that, sooner or later, the Government will have to choose one or other of these three plans or some modification of them. But, whatever plan is adopted, there is one measure which must under any circumstances be prescribed. This is, first, the immediate removal of the band of incompetent, corrupt, and mischievous men who are at the bottom of most of the intrigues by which this unfortunate *State* is torn; and, secondly, the appointment of an adequate number of trained native officials on reasonable salaries who can be trusted to carry out the orders given to them. Until the entire *Kashmir* establishment has been recast, and honest and competent servants substituted for the fraudulent and incapable men now employed, no reforms can be carried out, nor can any mere alteration of the form of Government be of any use.

I will endeavour to anticipate an objection which I foresee is likely to be raised. The action suggested in this report brings forward the question of the amount of interference in the affairs of a Native *State* which may be rightfully and expediently exercised by the paramount Power. It is the settled purpose of the *British* Government to avoid unnecessary and improper interference in the affairs of Native States. And the basis of this policy is respect for the rights of others, because our treaties with the principal Native States are founded upon their general independence in internal affairs. But, notwithstanding these treaties, cases must from time to time occur in which the Government of *India* as paramount power is forced to interfere in a radical manner, and it does habitually interfere in a lesser degree. A reluctant interference which circumstances have rendered unavoidable does not, however, infringe the general principle of non-intervention. The question is whether in the case of *Kashmir* an instance

of unavoidable interference has arisen. I submit it has. First, because mis-government producing evil consequences to the people has admittedly existed for many years and, though a wide margin of time and opportunity has been allowed, there seems no hope whatever that the State, unaided, will be able to settle its own affairs. Secondly, the condition of *Kashmir* affects countries on its northern border beyond its limits, thus becomes an injurious and disturbing element in the Imperial scheme of frontier defence. I advocate interference only so far as is indispensable for the accomplishment of the object aimed at, but I would interfere decidedly and effectually for this purpose. A strict adherence to the principle of non-interference implies that Government must also tolerate the local disorder and mal-administration which are bound to ensue.

Enclosure 2 in No.5

From RESIDENT IN *KASHMIR* to the SECRETARY TO
THE GOVERNMENT OF *INDIA*, Foreign
Department,

Dated April 21, 1888

EXTRACT

I have the honour to enclose a kharita from His Highness the *Maharaja* to the address of His Excellency the Viceroy. I am not aware of the contents of the kharita, but I understand that it gives cover to a scheme for the re-organisation of the *State Council*.

I should be glad to be informed what is the rule in other native States in respect to the transmission of *kharitas*, i.e., whether or not the Resident is entitled to be furnished with a copy of the *kharita* or to be informed of its contents. The precedents in this *State* appear to show that the Resident is not informed in the first instance, but that the Government of *India* furnishes him with a copy together with the reply. But so short a time has elapsed since a Resident was first appointed in *Kashmir* that it can hardly be said that any binding usage has yet been established.

In the present instance I have asked His Highness to give me a copy of the *kharita* not only because the *Maharaja* expressed his intention of informing me of his proposals and of availing himself of my assistance, but because that both under the instructions of August 1884 and under subsequent instructions the Resident is bound to offer his advice on all important matters, while on his part the *Maharaja* is required (*kharita* of 14th September, 1885) "to consult the Resident freely at all times and to be guided by his advice in carrying his views into execution."

KHARITA,

Dated *Srinagar*, the 13th April 1888

From His Highness PERTAB SINGH, *Maharaja* of *Jammu* and *Kashmir*, to his Excellency the VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF *INDIA*

Your Excellency is already aware that circumstances obliged me to dismiss *Diwan Lachman Das*,

Prime Minister and President of the Council. As I think that the Council which was formed with your kind advice should be continued, I have prepared a scheme for its reorganisation which I beg to forward herewith to your Excellency.

I beg to express the high consideration and esteem I entertain for your Excellency and to subscribe myself, etc.

JAMMU AND KASHMIR COUNCIL Constitution

1. The Council shall consist of a President, a Vice-President, three Members, and a Secretary.
2. His Highness the *Maharaja* shall be the President.
3. His Highness shall appoint a Vice-President, Members, and a Secretary.
4. Three shall form a quorum.
5. The Vice-President, Members, and the Secretary may be removed and substituted by majority of votes of the Members of the Council, for reasons to be recorded.
6. The Council shall be a consultative one.

APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS

7. *Raja Amar Singh* is hereby appointed Vice-President, and *Raja Ram Singh* and *Babu Nilambar Mukherji*, Members, with *Diwan Janki Prasad*, Member and Secretary.

8. The Members shall represent the following branches of administration:-

1. Military-*Raja Ram Singh*

2. Judicial and Foreign Department.-*Raja Amar Singh.*

3. Revenue.-*Babu Nilamhar Mukherji.*

4. Miscellaneous.-*Diwan Janki Prasad.*

9. The Vice-President and Members shall take the following executive powers.

10. The Vice-President and Members shall take the following oath:-

"I solemnly declare that in giving my opinion as a Member of Council, I shall keep in view the best interests of the State, and shall freely express my honest convictions, without fear or favour, and I shall not divulge any secrets of the State."

BUSINESS

11. The Council shall sit three days in the week, authorised holidays excepted, and any extraordinary meeting shall be held, on the requisition of the Prime Minister.

12. It shall be the duty of the Council to legislate and hear and pass opinion on all subjects that may be brought forward by the Members.

13. The Council shall, on meeting, frame rules for its guidance, which may be removed or modified by it only.

14. All matters shall be decided on majority of votes.

15. Besides the matters which may be brought forward in the Council by the Members, the Prime Minister, who is the head of the Executive Government under His Highness, may refer to the Council for opinion all important questions affecting the administration in all its branches.

16. The respective opinions of the several Members shall be recorded and signed.

17. When a Member brings forward, or the Prime Minister refers, any special matter to the Council, it shall be the duty of the Secretary to furnish all the Members with a written statement of the subject-matter.

18. The office establishment shall be considered and settled by the Council or meeting.

Enclosure 3 in No.5

From the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA to the PRESIDENT IN KASHMIR, dated Simla,

July 25, 1888

EXTRACT

The Government of *India* have decided to accept in principle the scheme which His Highness has put forward, and your own alternative proposals have for the present been set aside. In coming to this conclusion the Governor-General in Council has not overlooked the fact that the *Maharaja's* scheme is open to many objections, and that partly for other reasons, it is not unlikely to prove a failure. But before sanctioning any measures which would have the effect, directly or indirectly, of taking all power out of the *Maharaja's* hands, the Government of *India* have felt that it would be just and right to allow the *Maharaja* a further opportunity of showing whether he is competent to dis-

charge the duties of a responsible ruler. If after full and fair trial it becomes evident that he is wholly incapable of conducting the administration of the *State* the proposals which you have submitted will be reconsidered.

In the meantime I am to ask you to afford the *Maharaja* every assistance in your power with regard to the reorganisation of his Council and all other matters upon which he may consult you. The Governor-General in Council does not desire you to press upon him your own views as to these matters. You should understand that the responsibility for the success or failure of the present experiment will rest upon the *Maharaja*; and your aim should be to meet his wishes in every possible manner, not refusing your advice when His Highness asks for it, but avoiding any course of action which might prevent him from feeling that the Government of *India* desire to allow him the fullest opportunity of proving his fitness. You should help His Highness as much as possible in doing this, but you should not insist upon the advantage of any measure which he disapproves, however desirable it may seem to be in his own interests.

You will notice that the Government of *India* have declined to permit the employment of *Babu Nilambar Mukherji* as member of council incharge of the revenue administration. If the *Maharaja* should raise the question of employing him in any other capacity, you may inform His Highness that the Government of *India* do not consider it desirable that the *Babu* should return to *Kashmir*. With reference to the question of principle whether the *Maharaja* is at liberty to employ Native *British* subjects without the consent of the *British* Government, you should give His Highness to understand that the interpretation of the treaty of 1846 with regard to this point is no longer open to

discussion. The Government of *India* desire to give the *Maharaja* all possible assistance, and he will always find them willing to place at his disposal the services of competent *British* officials; but they must maintain their right to be consulted before any *British* subjects receive employment within the State.

The enclosed kharita points out to the *Maharaja* the urgent necessity for a thorough examination into the condition of the *Kashmir* finances. This is evidently a point of the greatest importance, and you should use your influence to bring it to the special notice of His Highness and his advisers.

The Governor-General in Council does not consider it necessary to give you more detailed instructions with regard to the course which you should pursue. He has no doubt that a consideration of this letter, and of the terms of the enclosed kharita, will suffice to show you the principles upon which he desires you to act, and he hopes that with the aid of judicious and sympathetic advice on your part the *Maharaja* may, before you leave *Kashmir*, have succeeded at least in laying the foundations on an efficient scheme of Government.

KHARITA,

Dated SIMLA, THE 25th July, 1888,
enclosed in

above

From His Excellency the VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-
GENERAL OF *INDIA* to His Highness the MAHARAJA
OF *KASHMIR*

I have received your Highness's letter of the 13th of April, informing me of the dismissal of *Diwan Lachman Das*, and forwarding, for my consideration, a scheme which you have prepared for the re-organization of your Council.

Your Highness's letter has received my most careful attention, and I have now to inform you of the conclusions at which I have arrived with regard to the very important questions which you have been good enough to refer to me.

In the first place, I cannot avoid informing your Highness that the news of the sudden removal of *Diwan Lachman Das* was received by me with some surprise. Your Highness appointed him to your council after consulting me, and I hoped that your highness would, before making another change of Government, give me some previous intimation of your views. However, this point has already been brought to your notice by *Mr. Plowden*, and I do not now desire to dwell upon it any further.

With regard to your Highness's scheme for the future administration of *Kashmir*, I would ask you to consider the following observations.

Your Highness proposes that the administration should be conducted or assisted by a council consisting of a President, a vice-President, three other members, and a secretary. The Presidency you would retain in your own hands. You would appoint your brother *Raja Amar Singh* to be vice-president, and you would also make him Prime Minister with executive powers. The other three members of the Council would be *Raja Ram Singh*, *Babu Nilambar Mukherji*, and *Diwan Janki Prasad*; and they would be charged respectively with the control of affairs in the

military, revenue, and miscellaneous departments. The Prime Minister would have special charge of the judicial and foreign departments. *Diwan Janki Prasad* would be secretary in addition to his other duties. It is proposed that the Council should be consultative.

It appears to me that a Government constituted in this manner is open to some criticism. In the first place, I am inclined to doubt whether it is altogether in accordance with your Highness's dignity to be President of the Council. Secondly, your Highness's brothers are still young, and have had little opportunity of acquiring practical experience to in administrative work. *Babu Nilambar Mukherji* has no knowledge of revenue matters, and is altogether unfit to take charge of so important a department of the administration. Of *Diwan Janki Prasad* I know little, but I understand that he is not a man of marked character and ability. Under these circumstances your Highness's scheme does not appear to me to hold out any certain promise success.

Nevertheless, I do not desire to raise any objection to the principle of the proposed arrangements. I regard your Highness as the responsible ruler of the State, and I wish to meet your views as far as possible, and to afford you every assistance in carrying them out. If, therefore, your Highness prefers to maintain a Council and to assume the presidency yourself, I am ready to assent to your vies in this matter, and also with regard to the nomination of your brothers and *Dewan Janki Prasad*. On one point only I feel that in your Highness's interests i must ask you to modify your proposals. I cannot think that the appointment of *Babu Nilambar Mukherji* as revenue minister would be desirable. I am of opinion that for the charge of revenue affairs, your Highness should secure the services of some thoroughly

competent official with practical experience of administration. I also think that at least one other official of similar qualifications should be appointed to direct, either as member of Council or in some other capacity, the judicial and executive branches of your Government. If your Highness can name any Native officials in the *British* service who seem to me to possess the requisite qualifications I shall be glad to place them at your disposal. If your Highness cannot suggest any names I shall be ready and willing to make inquiries, and to supply you with the best men available either in the *Punjab* or elsewhere. I have learnt with pleasure that your Highness has already asked for the services of some four or five officers to be employed in the accounts and forest departments. But your Highness's Government seems to require something more than the loan of a few subordinate officials. What is wanted is that you should associate with your principle officers two or three thoroughly trained and capable persons, who will be able to give your Highness effective aid in directing and controlling to main branches of the administration. I trust that your Highness will consider these suggestions and will take such steps as may have the effect of view. I need hardly add that, with regard to this question and to all other questions of importance, Your Highness should freely consult the Resident, who will give you every assistance in his power.

In making these observations I do not overlook the fact that, since the appointment of the Council of which *Diwan Lachman Das* was a member, considerable progress has been made in the direction of reform; useful work has been done with regard to the revenue administration, and in the re-organization of the Public Works and Medical Departments. But much remains to be done, and it is

because I am deeply conscious of the importance of the *Kashmir* State, and of the responsibilities of the *British* Government in regard to it, that I have so carefully examined the proposals which your Highness has put forward.

I would particularly urge upon your Highness's attention the necessity for a careful investigation into the condition of your Highness's finances, and of the executive and judicial services. Until these are placed upon a thoroughly sound footing it will be impossible to hope for any material increase in the prosperity of the State. I desire to express the high consideration which I entertain for your Highness, and to subscribe myself your Highness's sincere friend.

(Signed)

DUFFERIN, Viceroy and
Governor-General of *India*.

No. 6

The SECRETARY of STATE to the GOVERNMENT of
INDIA

India Office, London,
October 12, 1888.

My Lord,

I have persued with deep interest the papers regarding *Kashmir* affair which accompanied your Excellency's letter of the 18th August, 1888 From them I learn that the instability of the several administrations to which *Maharaja Pertab Singh* had entrusted the

management of the affairs of his *State* since his accession in 1885 has much retarded the execution of the various reforms which have been repeatedly pressed on the attention of the *Maharaja*, and that, after the abrupt dismissal of the President of the Council, *Diwan Lachman Das*, in March last, by the *Maharaja*, His Highness submitted for the consideration of your Excellency a scheme for there constitution of the *State* Council, in which the *Maharaja* proposed to assume the post of President.

2. Though this scheme of administration is open to many objections, partly on account of the *Maharaja* personal character, and for other reasons, and is not unlikely to prove a failure, your Excellency's Government have determined to allow His Highness a further opportunity of 'showing whether he is competent to discharge the duties of a responsible ruler.

3. Judging from the reports of the Residents in *Kashmir*, I can have little expectation myself that the experiment of a Council presided over by the *Maharaja* will be successful; but, on the other hand, the objections to any radical change in the Government of the province at the present juncture are such that I am willing to sanction your proposal to give to *Maharaja* another occasion of proving whether His Highness possesses either the capacity or the will to introduce and carry into effect those administrative measures which are essential to the prosperity and security of the *Kashmir* State.

No. 7

The GOVERNMENT OF *INDIA* to the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR *INDIA*, dated Fort William, April 3, 1889

EXTRACT

In 1888 the condition of *Kashmir* was by no means satisfactory; and the Resident, *Mr. Plowden*, had come to the conclusion that so long as the present *Maharaja* was maintained the power there could be no hope of better things. He therefore urged the Government of *India* to interfere and exclude His Highness from all concern with the administration. There was much to support *Mr. Plowden's* view, and we were by no means confident as to the result of any further abstention from interference; but on the whole we decided that the *Maharaja* should have another opportunity of showing, under favourable circumstances, whether he was capable of ruling the State. He was accordingly continued in power; and *Mr. Plowden*, who soon afterwards left *Kashmir* on promotion, was succeeded by *Colonel Parry Nisbet, C.I.E.*, a personal

friend of the *Maharaja*, and an officer of large administrative experience. It was hoped that *Colonel Nisbet* might succeed in establishing a strong influence over His Highness's mind, in freeing him from the domination of certain unprincipled persons about him, who took advantage of his timidity and superstition, and in gradually bringing him to a proper sense of his position and its responsibilities.

This hope was disappointed, and, after four months in the *Kashmir* Residency, *Colonel Nisbet* has come to the same conclusion as his predecessor. The immediate cause which led him to re-submit the matter for our orders was the discovery of some letters, said to have been written by the *Maharaja*, which were of such a nature as to present his character and conduct in a very unfavourable light. We were not disposed to attach my excessive importance to these letters, because we had received a number of very similar documents a year before, and were not ignorant of the *Maharaja's* failings. But in this instance the discovery of the letters was immediately followed by a voluntary resignation of power on the part of the *Maharaja*; and, taking into consideration this and all the other circumstances of the case, we felt that the time had come when some measure of interference could be no longer deferred. We have, therefore, determined that the *Maharaja's* resignation shall be accepted, and that we should avail ourselves of the opportunity in order to effect re-organisation of the *Kashmir* Government.

The form in which our interference is to be exercised will be seen from the terms of our instructions to *Colonel Nesbit*. To sum these up in a few words, the administration of the *State* will be handed over to a Council, consisting of the *Maharaja's* brothers and certain

selected officials in the *British* service. This council will have full powers, subject to the condition that they will take no important step without consulting the Resident, and that they will act upon the Resident's advice whenever it may be offered. This is the arrangement established in *Gwalior*, where it is working well. The *Maharaja* will be excluded from all interference with public affairs, but will retain his rank and dignity as Chief of the State, and will receive from the *State* revenue an adequate, but not extravagant, allowance for the maintenance of his household and any other necessary expenditure.

These arrangements will not be exclusively baded upon the *Maharaja's* edict of resignation, which was an attempt to save his dignity and secure better terms than he could otherwise expect. This edict contains some inconvenient stipulations, and it would be embarrassing to agree to it as it stands. We prefer to treat it as a confession of incapacity for the rule of the State, and to base our further proceedings upon general grounds.

Your Lordship will observe that our instructions to *Colonel* Nesbit deprecate any interference in the affairs of the *State* beyond what is necessary for the reform of the administration. We greatly regret the necessity for any interference at all. But we are now convinced that in the interests of the people of *Kashmir*, and of the ruling family itself, it is not longer right or possible to leave the affairs in the hands of the *Maharaja*; and we trust that Her Majesty's Government will concur in this opinion.

Enclosure 1 in No. 7

From *Colonel* R. PARRY NISBET to *Sir* H. M. DURAND,
dated Sialkot, February 27, 1889

EXTRACT

The day before yesterday I had placed in my hands such reliable evidence as I have said invariably to those have talked to me, would alone satisfy me of the disloyalty or utter imbecility of the present Ruler of *Jammu*.

This consists of a batch of thirty-four letters, in the *Maharaja's* own handwriting, some of which are so compromising as to leave, I submit, no course open save his removal from the State, unless the alternative theory be accepted of his being a half-witted individual, irresponsible for his own acts.

Of their authenticity I have, myself, no doubt, and they are admitted to be in the *Maharaja's* own handwriting by his brother, *Raja Amar Singh*; besides, a mass of letters like this are not likely to be forgeries in the way one or two might be.

But, side by side with these treasonable letter in this packet, there are others in an utterly foolish strain, thereby confirming me in the conclusion I have unwillingly come to, that, though with lucid intervals of good sense and propriety, the *Maharaja* is utterly incapable of being left in charge of his own affairs. The gist of these other letters is that the *Maharaja* offers large sums of money to certain individuals on condition that they will murder, or cause to be removed, *Plowden*, the late Resident, his own two brothers, *Ram Singh* and *Amar Singh*, and one of the *Maharanis*, who, for some reason, is personally objectionable to him.

These acts are not those of a man in such possession of his intellect as would justify Government in leaving him in uncontrolled charge of the most important frontier State.

The conclusions the letters lead me to are confirmed by certain rather extraordinary acts of the *Maharaja* in

appointing unworthy and incapable persons to important offices of the State, even since I took over charge, without consulting the proper counsellor, or, infact, any one at all. The thing is the *Maharaja* is a timid and very superstitious man at the entire mercy of a set of unscrupulous scoundrels who take advantage of his fears and imbecility to plunder the *State* to any extent, and there appear to me weighty reasons for advising the practical setting aside of the *Maharaja's* authority.

It surely is politically dangerous to leave the actual administration of this great *State* in the hands of an individual who may play us false at any moment, without, perhaps, appreciating the disaster that would follow, and, I believe, any steps Government may take short of annexation will be right and necessary, and generally approved by the Princes and Chiefs of *India*.

Under the circumstances stated I think it is necessary for me to come to *Calcutta* at once on hearing from you, to talk the matter fully over with you, so that you may be in a position definitely to settle the future policy of Government towards the State.

Enclosure 2 in No. 7

From the RESIDENT IN *KASHMIR*, Sialkot, to the
FOREIGN SECRETARY, *Calcutta*

Telegram

March 8, 1889.

I start to-morrow for *Calcutta*. I have two days at *Jammu*, and *Maharaja* has himself proposed what will, I think, solve the difficulty of the existing situation of affairs. He asked to be allowed to form a new Council of State, constituted of his two brothers, with *Pandits Suraj Kaul* and *Bhag Ram*, and an English officer selected by the Government of *India*, the *Maharaja* surrendering entire control of public affairs to such Council for five years.

Enclosure 3 in No. 7

From *Colonel R. PARRY NISBET* to *Sir H.M. DURAND*
Kashmir,

March 13, 1889.

I send you the original edict (with translation) and the official letter handed to me by the *Maharaja* of *Kashmir* containing his Highness's application to be relieved of the management for a time of *State* affairs in order to redeem the past.

I trust this voluntary offer on his part may afford, with perhaps further conditions, an acceptable way out of no doubt a very acute difficulty.

As the Government of *India* have carefully refrained as long as was possible from any sort of interference in the direct management in the affairs of the *Kashmir* State, so I think now a direct appeal to do so cannot be ignored, and that there should be no hesitation in adopting the best and most complete measure likely to bring about the reforms necessary.

Sub-enclosure

From RAJA AMAR SINGH, President of Council and Prime

Minister to His Highness the *Maharaja* of *Jammu* and *Kashmir*, to *Colonel R. PARRY NISBET*, C.I.E., Resident in *Kashmir, Jammu*

March 8, 1889.

I have the honour to submit, for information of yourself and the Government of *India*, the original *Irshad* of His Highness the *Maharaja* by which he abandons his direct management of the *Jammu* and *Kashmir State* for a term of five years, and desires that it may be performed by a Council of *State* consisting of his brothers, *Raja Ram Singh*, *Raja Amar Singh*, and three members, one of whom to whom to be an English officer of special experience and qualifications selected by the Government, and other two members will be

Pandit Suraj Kaul and *Pandit Bhag Ram*

2. I am directed to request that you will kindly furnish me with a certified copy of the *Irshad*, if you want to keep the original in your office.

3. I am further directed to request that you will move the Government of *India* for early nomination of an English officer to serve on the Council of *State* as proposed in the *Irshad*.

Sub-enclosure

My Dear Brother *Raja Amar Singh*,

In the interests of the 'State' and for better administration of the country, and with a view to remodel it, as near as possible on the English system, I hereby authorise a Council, the members of which, for period of five years, will conduct all the public affairs of the *State* as they think best. The members will be as follows:-

Raja Ram Singh and Raja Amar Singh,

An English member, specially selected by the Government of *India* on a salary of Rs.2,000 or 3,000 per month.

Rai Bahadur Suraj Raja Bahadur Bhag Ram. Kaul and

This Council will have full and sole powers in all in Public Department of the *State* for a period of five years.

In the event of a vacancy occurring among the three last members during the prescribed period of five years, the Government of *India* will be asked to nominate a new member.

After the expiration of the said period of five years the *Maharaja* will have the power of re-organising the administration if he finds it necessary to do so.

This period of five years will count from the date of this edict.

The Council will not interfere in any way with the private affairs of the *Maharaja*.

The *Maharaja* will continue to draw his monthly allowance for his privy purse as hitherto, no change whatever being made.

The jagirs and other grants of immovable, movable property hitherto made by the *Maharaja* will hold good and the Council will not interfere.

All usual expenses connected with marriages and other family customs will be provided by the 'State.'

Of my two brothers I will myself appoint one as President of the Council.

During the said period of five years the *Maharaja* will not interfere and will have no voice in the administration of the public affairs of the State, but he will continue to enjoy the honorary rights and position of *Maharaja*.

The Council have no power to alter existing treaties without the previous approval of the *Maharaja*.

The Council will have no power to assign jagirs or immovable property of the *State* or to make new rules on such subjects without the consent of the *Maharaja*.

Signed and sealed by

His Highness the *Maharaja*

on 27th *Bhagan*, 1945-8th March, 1889.

Enclosure 4 in No. 7

INSTRUCTIONS from GOVERNMENT of INDIA to

RESIDENT in KASHMIR, dated April 1, 1889

EXTRACT

I am to request you to inform the *Maharaja* that for a time at least he will be expected to refrain from all interference in the administration. He will retain his rank and dignity as Chief of the State; but full powers of Government will be vested in a Council consisting of the *Maharaja*'s brothers and three or four officials selected by the Government of India. It is not thought desirable that

one of these officials should be an Englishman. The President of the Council will be *Raja Amar Singh*. Besides retaining his rank and dignity the *Maharaja* will receive from the revenues of the *State* an annual sum sufficient to maintain his household in due comfort, and to defray any expenditure which may rightly devolve upon him; but he will have no power of alienating the *State* revenues, and the sum placed at his disposal, though adequate, must not be extravagantly large.

I am further to request you to make the *Maharaja* and the Members of Council thoroughly understand that, although the Council will have full powers of administration, they will be expected to exercise those powers under the guidance of the Resident. They will take steps of importance without consulting him, and they will follow his advice whenever it may be offered.

In communicating to the *Maharaja* and others concerned the decision of the Government of *India*, you should be careful to avoid basing that decision exclusively either upon the letters or upon the *Maharaja's* resignation. The letters are repudiated by the *Maharaja*, and as I have said before they are not of a very novel character; while on the other hand, the Government of *India* are by no means prepared to make the present settlement a matter of compact with the *Maharaja*, and to accept all the conditions laid down by his edict of the 8th March, for example the five years' limit. You should therefore base the decision of the Government upon a full consideration of all the circumstances, the letters and the *Maharaja's* wish to retire from the control of affairs being considered amongst other things, but only as portions of a difficult and complicated case, which it has been necessary to settle on broader grounds of general policy.

You should now proceed to work out fresh proposals upon the lines I have indicated. It will be necessary in the first place to define exactly the future position of the *Maharaja*, the amount of his annual allowance, the expenses which it is intended to cover, the extent of his powers over his own household, and generally the conditions which he will have to confirm. It will also be necessary to show the proposed constitution of the council, the duties falling upon each of its members, and the method of transacting business. You should also ascertain the requirements of the *State* in the manner of subordinate officials, and should submit for the approval of the Government your view as to the steps to be taken for re-organising the administrative services. In forming has no desire to turn *Kashmir* into the semblance of a *British* district, or to place all administrative posts in the hands of *Punjabi* foreigners. The want of good native officials makes it necessary to import some trained men from the outside, but the number so imported should be kept as low as possible, and your object should be to form with their help a class of *Kashmiri* officials who will be capable hereafter of administering the *State* themselves. It is altogether against the wishes and policy of the Government of interfere unnecessarily with the customs and traditions of a Native State, or to force upon it the precise methods of administration obtaining in *British* territory. Administrative efficiency is not the only object to be attained in such cases, nor, indeed, the principal object.

The Government of *India* will be glad to know, as soon as possible the true facts as to the financial position of *Kashmir*. A separate report should be submitted on this point, and in submitting it you should inquire into the question of the jagirs and allowances given by the

Maharaja, and should make proposals as to the manner in which such grants should be treated.

Finally, I am to requested that the new arrangements may be introduced as quietly as possible. There should be no ceremonial, and nothing that can be regarded as the public degradation of the *Maharaja*, who should simply retire from the conduct of affairs. It is desirable that the change should attract no more attention than necessary, and above all, that it should not be regarded as the punishment of a great native Chief for proved disloyalty to the Crown. Rumours to the effect that the *Maharaja* has been convicted of treasonable practices have already been in circulation, and such rumours do harm both in *India* and elsewhere.

No.8

The SECRETARY OF STATE FOR *INDIA* to the
GOVERNMENT OF *INDIA*

My Lord Marquis, *India* Office, London, May 24, 1889.

From the papers transmitted with your Excellency's letter, dated the 3rd April, 1883, I learn that the further opportunity which was given to His Highness the *Maharaja* of *Kashmir* of proving whether he was capable of conducting the administration of his *State* has once more established his unfitness for the position of ruler.

2. You have, therefore, decided to accept the *Maharaja's* voluntary resignation, and to effect a thorough re-organisation of the *Kashmir* Government.

3. In accordance with this determination, the administration will be entrusted to a Council, consisting of the *Maharaja's* brothers and certain selected Native

officials in the *British* service. This Council will have full powers, subject to the condition that they will take no important step without consulting the Resident, and that they will act upon the Resident's advice whenever it may be offered. The *Maharaja* will be excluded from all interference with public affairs, but will retain his rank and dignity as Chief of the State, and will receive from the *State* revenues an adequate, but not extravagant, allowance for the maintenance of his household and any other necessary expenditure.

4. Her Majesty's Government fully approve your proceedings, and share your conviction that in the interests of the people of *Kashmir*, and of the ruling family itself, it has become impossible to leave the control of affairs in the hands of the *Maharaja*.

I have, &c.,

From the GOVERNMENT OF *INDIA* to the SECRETARY
OF STATE FOR *INDIA*, dated Simla, July 26, 1889
EXTRACT

In continuation of our dispatch of the 3rd April, and in further reference to the condition of affairs in *Kashmir*, we have the honour to enclose copies of the papers noted in the margin.

We take this opportunity of expressing the satisfaction which it has given to us to be made aware that the course which has been adopted in dealing with this question has met with your Lordship's approval. The events which have taken place since our decision was arrived at have not let us to modify in any way the opinions which we formed at the time. The *Maharaja's* allegation

that the edict of the 8th March last was signed by him under compulsion is, we believe, entirely unjustified by the facts of the case. The circumstances under which His Highness requested that he might be relieved from active participation in the duties of Government are set forth in detail in paragraph 8 of the Viceroy's letter of the 28th June, 1889.

We have, on the other hand, no doubt that His Highness's action in requesting the permission of the Resident to retire from the management of public affairs for a term of years, may have been due to fear of the consequences which he, at that time, apprehended from the discovery of the correspondence, of which copies have been already laid before your Lordship.

Now that His Highness has ascertained that the action of the Government of *India* has been justified upon other grounds, and that the correspondence in question has been treated with comparative indifference, it is quite possible that His Highness regrets the somewhat precipitate proposal which he made to the Resident. The fact that he should have preferred such a request, and immediately receded from it, affords, in our opinion, further proof of the slight amount of reliance which can be placed upon his character as a ruler.

We are glad to report that we are receiving from the Resident satisfactory accounts of the progress which is being made by the new Council in improving the administration of the State. A large portion of the arrears due to the army have already been paid. We need scarcely dwell on the danger which was likely to arise to the public safety from the existence of a large and ill-disciplined military force, which had, for some months past, been allowed to remain without the pay which was due to it.

We learn that, in the same way, heavy arrears of salaries have been made good in all the departments, a condition indispensable to honest and diligent service of a kind which for many years past has, we fear, been too rarely rendered by *Kashmir* officials, Public works, the progress of which was seriously threatened owing to want of funds, are being actively pushed on. Much unnecessary expenditure has been curtailed, and the Resident expresses his belief that if the next harvest should prove to be a good one, and suitable measures be taken for the recovery of the land revenue, the close of the year will see the establishment of financial equilibrium in the accounts of the State.

It is in our opinion scarcely possible to overrate the importance of the results likely to be produced by a period of upright and efficient administration in a country circumstanced as is *Kashmir*, and with its antecedents. It has been the painful duty of the Government of *India* from time to time to call the attention of the Secretary of the *State* to the Chronic misgovernment to which the people of *Kashmir* have been subjected by the present *Maharaja* and his predecessors. It had become evident before the accession of the present *Maharaja* that the only hope for the *State* lay in a vigorous attempt to remove the most flagrant of the abuses under which, in spite of the great natural resources of the country, its population had steadily dwindled, and its people had become impoverished to the point of chronic scarcity. At the time when the death of the late *Maharaja* was imminent, the Government of *India* entertained the gravest doubts whether the present *Maharaja*, then heir-apparent to the throne, was fit to succeed to it.

The circumstances under which it was determined to give him an opportunity of proving his fitness are within

your Lordship's knowledge. Our experience of him has shown that neither his abilities nor his inclinations are likely to bring about any appreciable improvement in the condition of the people committed to his charge.

In this connection we may refer your Lordship to the report of the settlement Operations in *Kashmir* and *Jammu*, submitted by *Mr. A. Wingate, C.L.E., C.S.*, Settlement Officer, to the *Maharaja* in 1888. This report, of which a copy is attached to this dispatch, contains abundant evidence to show that most of the abuses continued to prevail unchecked. Under the system of assessment in force the cultivator of the soil had, as *Mr. Wingate* points out, been pressed down to the condition of a coolie cultivating the *State* property at a bare subsistence allowance, while the population continued to diminish, and the former occupants of the land were being steadily ousted from its possession, which was passing into that of the official classes, who have been enriched at the public expanse. This transference of the land from the cultivating to the non-cultivating classes had, in *Mr. Wingate's* opinion, been proceeding with increased rapidity since the death of the late *Maharaja*, from which date the central authority appears to have become weaker. The artisan classes, whose skill and industry are well known, appear to have shared the ruin of the cultivating classes.

We have thought it our duty to dwell briefly upon this subject, because the supersession of the *Maharaja* appears to have been regarded in many quarters as the result of a selfish desire on the part of the Government of *India* to extend its influence in *Kashmir*, and possibly to prepare the way for the ultimate annexation of the State. We have, we trust, said enough to satisfy your Lordship that the consideration which has had most weight with us

has been the responsibility, from which we cannot divest ourselves, of securing for the people of *Kashmir* a form of Government less intolerable than that to which they have been subjected for many years past. The circumstances under which the destinies of *Kashmir* were handed over by the *British* Government for political considerations to an alien dynasty, increase, in our opinion, our responsibility for the condition of the country, and impose upon us an obligation, which we cannot ignore, of taking effectual steps in order to terminate the long period of suffering, mismanagement, and wasted opportunities through which the *State* has passed.

Enclosure 1 in No. 9

From *Colonel* PARRY NISBET to *Sir* H.M.DURAND

(Demi-Official.)

Kashmir Residency, *Srinagar*,

After arrival here on the 13th, I paid a visit of ceremony on the 15th to His Highness the *Maharaja*, which he returned on the 16th, but I refrained from discussing any business at these interviews.

On the 17th instant, accompanied by Captain Ramsay, I proceeded to the palace at 11 a.m., and met His Highness the *Maharaja* in private Durbar. Those present besides the *Maharaja* were his brothers, *Rajas Ram Singh* and *Amar Singh*, the two members of Council, *Pandit Suraj Kaul* and *Pandit Bhag Ram*, *Diwan Janki Prasad*, an old official of the State, and *Sardar Bup Singh*, Governor of *Kashmir*. I informed His Highness the *Maharaja* without comment of the orders of the Government of *India*, dated 1st April, 1889, and that he might be under no misapprehension, I, at the same time, handed to his Prime Minister, *Raja Amar Singh*, these orders in writing in the form of a letter, copy of which is annexed, as an answer to his No. 159, dated 8th March, 1882, which is in the correspondence.

His Highness the *Maharaja* said-'I will consider the letter and return an answer.' After some few minutes conversation the interview closed. In leading me down the Durbar room the *Maharaja* again said-'I will think it over and give you an answer to what you have told me.' I replied kindly 'an answer is not required, as what I have communicated to you are the orders of the Government. I will always come and give you any further explanation you may wish,' and we parted. I subsequently repeated to the brothers of the *Maharaja* that they should let him thoroughly understand that the communications made to him were the definite orders of the Government of *India*, which it was not necessary for him to answer.

On the 18th instant there was a first meeting of the new Council.

Sub-enclosure

From the RESIDENT in *Kashmir* to RAJA AMAR SINGH,
Prime Minister, *Kashmir*

April 17, 1889.

With reference to your No. 159, dated 8th March, 1889, I beg to inform you that the letter with its enclosure was laid before his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council, who, after full consideration of the circumstances and the general condition of affairs in the *Kashmir State* for a long time past, has ordered me to inform His Highness the *Maharaja* that for a time at least he will be expected to refrain from all interference in the administration. He will retain his rank and dignity as Chief of the State, but full powers of Government will be vested in a Council consisting of the *Maharaja's* brothers and three or four officials selected by the Government of *India*. It is not thought desirable that one of these officials should be an Englishman. Besides retaining his rank and dignity, the *Maharaja* will receive from the revenues of the *State* an annual sum sufficient to maintain his household in due comfort and to defray any expenditure that may rightly devolve upon him, but he will have no power of alienating the *State* revenues, and the sum placed at his disposal, though adequate, will not be extravagantly large.

His Highness the *Maharaja* and the Members of Council should thoroughly understand that, although the Council will have full powers of administration, they will

be expected to exercise those powers under the guidance of the *British* Resident. They will take no step of importance without consulting him, and they will follow his advice whenever it may be offered.

Such are the orders of the Government of *India*, and, on my own part, I beg you will assure His Highness that it will be my endeavour to assist in carrying them out in the way I trust that may be most conducive to the happiness and benefit of His Highness and the State.

Enclosure 2 in No. 9

From His Highness the MAHARAJA OF *KASHMIR* to the MARQUESS OF LANDSDOWNE

Kashmir, May 14, 1889.

It is after great suffering and distress, and undergoing greatest contempt and taunt at the hands of my inferiors, that I have, with fear, decided to send the special message to your Excellency per bearer. Necessity and feelings of loyalty have obliged me to seek advice from your Excellency and take shelter under your Lordship's fatherly care. As advised by my late-lamented father from my very childhood, my heart is full of loyalty to the paramount power, and I am always ready to do all that can be desired by the blessed Government. Your Excellency is authorised to consider me as one of your Lordship's most faithful and humble servants. When my late father always considered it an honour to serve the Government loyally and faithfully, I should, and I do, consider it greater honour still to follow his example. All my country, treasury, army, even my life and blood, are at the disposal of the *British*

Government and our Mother-Sovereign, the Queen-Empress.

I know very well that I have been extremely misrepresented before the Government of *India* through sources which had a show of reliableness, but this, alas! I have come too late to know, when my internal enemies, who are envious of my position, have succeeded to drive me to a very mean and pitiable position, and implore your Excellency to release and save me from it, taking me destitute position inconsideration. The recent allegations brought against me about secret correspondence with *Russia*, conspiring with Dalip Singh, attempt to poison the *British* Resident, Mr. T.C. Plowden, and lots of stupid stories, did not affect my mind in the least, for I was under the impression that some special officer will be deputed by your Excellency's Government to inquire fully into the false charges, and thus I shall get the best opportunity of disclosing everything fully, and, through his source, be able to bring all facts to the notice of your Excellency, and have my secret enemies brought to book through your Excellency's kind sympathy. But to my greatest pleasure no notice was taken of those false letters, and all other stupid stories were taken as nonsense by the supreme power. After this was over, the following communication was sent by Colonel R. Parry Nesbit, Resident in *Kashmir*, to Raja Amar Singh, Prime Minister:-

‘From the RESIDENT in *Kashmir* to RAJA AMAR SINGH, Prime Minister

‘*Kashmir*, April 17, 1889

Sir,

‘With reference to your number 159, dated 8th March, 1889, I beg to inform you that the letter, with its enclosure, was laid before His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council, who after full consideration of the circumstances and the general condition of affairs in the *Kashmir State* for a long time past, has ordered me to inform His Highness the *Maharaja* that, for a time at least, he will be expected to refrain from all interference in the administration. He will retain his rank and dignity as Chief of the State; but full powers of Government will be vested in a Council consisting of the *Maharaja*’s brothers and three or four officials selected by the Government of *India*. It is not thought desirable that one of these officials should be an Englishman. Besides retaining his rank and dignity, the *Maharaja* will receive from the revenue of the *State* an annual sum sufficient to maintain his household in due comfort and to defray any expenditure that may rightly devolve upon him, but he will have no power of alienating the *State* revenues, and the sum placed at his disposal, though adequate, will not be extravagantly large.

‘2. His Highness the *Maharaja* and the Members of the Council should thoroughly understand that, although the Council will have full powers of administration, they will be expected to exercise these powers under the

guidance of the *British* Resident. They will take no step of importance without consulting him; they will follow his advice whenever it may be offered.

'3. Such are the orders of the Government of *India*, and on my own part, I beg you will assure His Highness that it will be my endeavour to assist in carrying them out in the way I trust that may be most conducive to the happiness and benefit of His Highness and the State.

'I remain,

'Yours truly,

'(Signed) R. PARRY NISBET.'

And now your Excellency can judge what my position at present is, and how much I am slighted in the Durbar, my enemies staring with pride and triumph into my eyes very often and showing all possible contempt.

My chief enemy, and in the present circumstances enemy of the State, who has taken a fancy to become the ruler of the *Kashmir* State, and who envies my position since long time, is, I am sorry to say, my own youngest brother, *Raja Amar Singh*. It is only now that I have found him out in his true colours, and all doubts as to his ill-motive have been removed. Since the very day I succeeded to the throne, he caused to set afloat all sorts of rumours against me about my incapacity, insanity, &c., &c.

Many a time he was directly caught in conspiring against me. He encouraged, pecuniarily and otherwise, people connected with the press with the only object of their writing against my person, vilifying me, and causing to circulate the worst rumours against me. Having convenient access to *Europeans*, &c., &c., and the Residents, to which I never objected, having no suspicion

regarding his doings, he filled their ears, as often as possible, with such black stories about me, directly and indirectly, thinking very well that his doing so will, in the long run, set the Government of *India* against me, and he will be proclaimed Ruler of *Jammu* and *Kashmir* territories in that case. To almost every Resident, and specially to *Colonel R. Parry Nisbet*, he appeared to be the most reliable and intimately connected informant, and all should have believed in what he said; and I have every reason to believe that all rumours which reached the Government against me must have been through this, and this source alone.

Being disgusted with this unworthy conduct, and having ample proofs to silence him in his very face, I twice resolved to order him to remove himself to his jagir, and have nothing to do in the capital. On both these occasions, being informed of my resolution against him, he entered my room, where was no one except him and myself, shedding childish tears, throwing his turban on my feet, imploring for mercy, promising all good-will and hearty loyalty for the future, and asking for pardon as my dear brother, humblest slave. After all, he was my youngest brother, very dear to me; his lovely young face is still liked by me, and on both these occasions my blood was naturally warm for him, and I was completely moved by his entreaties, and pardoned him after all. To prove to him that my heart was quite in sympathy with him-and I truly loved him as my dear brother-I, at his request, bestowed upon him the rich jagir of *Bhadderwa*, in exchange to the comparatively poor *Bisoli* which he had got during the time of my late father, and again made him Prime Minister of all. But, as was known afterwards, he was never slow in conspiring against me, even then. Regaining my confidence

twice, and knowing I was quite confident and entirely at ease from his side, he possessed redoubled power and influence in the State, which is natural, and every *State* official was made to believe and look upon him as my powerful assistant and adviser. All these advantages he brought in force against me for the gain of his one sole object in view above mentioned, and he was able enough to create a strong party of his own among my officials, giving them all hopes of future success and prosperity, in case they remained faithful only to him and join with him in overthrowing me and mine. This promise he has fulfilled now in promoting those who joined him, and degrading those, my sincerely faithful servants, who stood by me amidst all temptations.

Colonel R. Parry Nisbet, as soon as he was installed as *British Resident* at my Court, I looked upon him as my safe friend, and thought that my difficulties were at an end, because I knew him to be one of the sincere friends of my father and good supporter to myself. I must also confess that for some little time in the beginning he was my sympathiser to some extent, but it is very difficult to say what made him entirely change his motives towards me and to fall in the very clutches of the very same secret and powerful enemy of mine, *Raja Amar Singh*. This sudden change must be astonishing to all others as it was to me, so it is the most difficult task to investigate fully into the cause of this sudden change of his policy.

To overcome such difficulties as I was labouring under, at the hands of powerful intriguers who were using all sorts of influence within and without, I asked for the loan of two well-experienced officers from the Government of *India* to act as my councillors, and I must express my deep and heart-felt gratitude for the kindness with which

the Government of *India* conceded to my request. But excellent men as these were, they also changed their former attitude at once as soon as the Resident changed his, and I believe that they must have done so naturally, as they are more dependent upon the goodwill of the Representative of the *British* Government, under whose employment they have spent almost all their life, and to whom they owe all they have got, than myself, whom they are only lent to, so I was soon being made powerless.

At this juncture the brewing plot of the much-talked-of-letters, alleged to have been written by me, was brought into force. Almost all the rumours about the source from which they are purported to have reached the Resident are false, and without any foundation whatever. Soleoy *Raja Amar Singh* was at the bottom of the whole thing. These letters are nothing but most daring forgeries, and there was none more daring than my blood relation, the *Raja Amar Singh*. I have every reason to thank heartily your Excellency's Government for considering and treating them beneath notice, &c. This news, when it reached *Jammu*, gave much joy to all but to my brother *Raja I Singh*, and his party fellows, as, for instance, *Sardar I Singh*, the present Governor of *Hakim-ila* of *Kashmir*, *Diwan Janki Prasad*, his Secretary, ex-Governor of *Hakimala*, *Wazir Shibsaran*, and *Diwan Shibsaran*, his own Prime Minister, and who has full power to do anything in the State, and many others to whom it gave excessive pain. I am sure, if the Government of *India* would have required witness, *Raja Amar Singh* had been the first to swear against me. He was even ready to accompany *Colonel Nisbet* to *Calcutta* to complete my disaster for ever. When he came to inform me of his intention, made according to order of *Colonel Nisbet*, to leave for *Culcutta* with the

Resident at his desire, I questioned him as to what opinion he expressed about the letters before the Resident. In reply he admitted to have said only that the etymological letters resemble those of the *Maharaja's* handwriting, but the signatures are not quite so. Being startled and heartily pained at this his reply, I simply told him, "All right, *Raja Amar Singhjee*. You can go to *Calcutta* with the Resident, if you like, but this was not expected from you. In your admitted deposition you have left nothing to destroy me." On the other day he, I believe, with the consultation of the Resident, decided not to go, and told me- "As your Highness is not favourable to the proposal I won't go, not to displease your Highness."

With the information of these letters, and with the full confidence and strength of being supported by my own brother and his now strong party, *Colonel R. Parry Nisbet* dashed into my room at a fixed time and brought such a great and many sided pressure in all solemnity and seriousness that I was obliged to write what was desired, rather demanded by him, in order to relieve myself for the moment, having full faith that your Excellency's Government will not accept such a one sided view of the case, and that full opportunity will be given to me of defending myself. I never admitted the genuineness of these letters, and even an ordinary sense can find out that I could never write such nonsense as the letters are purported to contain. Do I not know the dangers of the change of Government? Do I not understand the value of a peaceful Government presiding over us all? Do I not know what security all the Native Princes of *India* now are enjoying from internal and external dangers? Do I not understand that my dominions are most safe under the benign *British* Government? Do I not understand that what them on earth can induce me to

correspond with *Russia*? Who is in *Russia* to read *Dogra Vernacular*? Having been in possession of high honours and all regards from the *British* Government, and having got everything from being loyal to it, what more can I expect, or aspire to get, from a foreign power, where tyranny and despotism are well known to all? As to *Dalip Singh* (God forbid), if he ever happens to come here, who is in a more dangerous position to suffer from his wrath? That I would conspire with him, is to hit the axe at the very foot of my own existence. About the attempt to poison *Mr. T.C. Plowden*, I think *Mr. Plowden* himself must be the best witness. My administration in those days was vested in the Council composed of *Diwan Lachman Das*, President, *Raja Ram Singh*, Military Member, *Raja Amar Singh*, member of all the civil affairs; and let them all sincerely say if they know anything about it. *Raja Amar Singh*, who was the adviser and general controller of all affairs, and under whose cunning guidance *Diwan Lachman Das* used to act unknowingly, may support this charge-I cannot say but none other, not even one single soul in the whole *State* will ever stand a witness to this charge. Moreover, who is the fool in the world to commit such base conspiracies to writing? Suppose there was such foul conspiracy on my part, would not the whole thing have been managed orally? But I assure your Excellency with all sacredness that such an idea never occurred to me, in dream even. Although your Excellency's Government treated the letters as beneath notice, my cruel enemies have got the fullest advantage that they expected. They are now full conquerors over my head and under their feet trample me. What is my position now? Simply that of a dead body: even worse than that, for I am taunted every moment by some sort of disgrace and disregard or other. These inferiors and traitors,

who only yesterday showed me every respect and bowed down before me, pass me now with contemptuous smile, and I constantly bear the destruction and degradation of all those, my faithful old hereditary servants, who stood by me. Of course a dead body is unconscious of all these troubles, of which I am unfortunately not.

In his communication, dated 17th April, 1889, to *Raja Amar Singh*, above quoted in full, the Resident says: "His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council, after full consideration of the circumstances and the general condition of affairs in the *Kashmir State* for a long time past, has ordered me to inform His Highness the *Maharaja* that, for a time at least, he will be expected to refrain from all interference in the administration. He will retain his rank and dignity as Chief of the State, &c., &c." Now, to put it very plainly, I have never, up to this time, enjoyed complete independence of action in *State* affairs. Under such circumstances it has been very cruel indeed to hold me personally responsible for any maladministration and to punish me severely as a criminal. By the above order of your Excellency it is plain enough to understand that matters have been so represented as to prove that only my interference has brought about the state affairs for which the Government of *India* has been obliged to pass such strictures upon me; whereas the case is quite the contrary. The man whose disloyal interference is the chief cause of all mismanagement, and who should have been successful in his wicked design. Had there been any other loyal and faithful Prime Minister of mine than *Raja Amar Singh*, he would have been expected to send in a suitable reply to the Resident's communication and saved me from the deadly disgrace which I have been subjected to; but my brother, *Raja Amar Singh*, quietly submitted to it, and was

extremely satisfied to see me thus disgraced, as it was really his own hearty intention to see me so.

What rank and dignity can I retain under such circumstances? My condition is worse than a deposed ruler, in as much as he is taken out to some other place where he does not witness the most insulting scenes. And as regards the stipend that I am allowed at the mercy of the Council and the Resident, such is given even to the treacherous enemies of the *British*, who masscred their regiment and are now imprisoned or kept safe as political prisoners in the hills. Certainly, if the alleged letters had been proved genuine still no worse fate would have befallen me. The present Council, not content with reducing me to such a state of distress, have now fallen upon all those who remained faithful to me. Not to go into a full details, I will only say that *Pandit* Mahanandjee, Governor of *Jammu*, *Pandit* Zanak, Assistant Governor of *Kashmir*, *Pandit* Shibak, Officer of Timber Department, *Dussoundhiram*, an honest Chief Judge of *Jammu*, and *Pandit* Paralal, office of deciding the old balance accounts, and many others, have all been dismissed, with exception of *Dussoundhiram*, by one stroke of pen, on one plea and pretence or other, but really simple because they were sore in the eyes of *Raja Amar Singh*, and did not hear to his illegal recommendation and stood on my side. Their places are now being filled with such men who are notorious for their show of contempt to me.

If your Excellency really wants to make me responsible for the administration of the *State* (and I am very glad and quite ready to take such responsibility over my head), I would ask to be made responsible ruler. In spite of what has been represented against me about my incapacity, etc., I would ask your Excellency to give me a

fair trial in order to see what I am capable of doing for the furtherance of the interests of the Supreme Government and prosperity of my State. From three to five years' time, as I think it quite sufficient for me to put everything into order from the date of holding responsibility, provided I am allowed full strength and independence to choose my own councillors and ministers, and *British Resident*, instead of throwing obstacles in my way like *Colonel R. Parry Nisbet*, supports and strengthens my hands. This just Resident should be chosen by the Government of *India*. I shall always be glad and ready to seek his advice and sympathy, but in all matters concerning the State, &c., the Resident will have to consult me solely. For the present I would like to take *Raja Ram Singh*, *Pandit Suraj Kaul*, and *Pandit Bhag Ram* as my councillors (and remove *Raja Amar Singh* to his jagir), with full powers to add or diminish any one.

If after a fair trial being given to me, I do not set everything (excepting the Settlement Department, which is under the guidance of Mr. *Lawrence*, and which will not be settled within five years) right, and am found not to fule to the satisfaction of the Supreme Government, and my people within the prescribed time, your Excellency's Government is at liberty to do anything that may be considered advisable. In case this liberty is not allowed to me by the Supreme Government, and I have to remain in my present most miserable condition, I would most humbly ask your Excellency to summon me before you- and I will be most happy to obey such summons- and shoot me through the heart with your Excellency's hands, and thus at once relieve an unfortunate prince from unbearable misery, contempt, and disgrace for ever.

Awaiting your Excellency's commands, &c.

P.S.-The papers on which I write do not bear my official seal, and the reason is that my English Office is in the hands of the Prime Minister, *Raja Amar Singh*. The English clerks have been detained by him, by the advice of the Resident, to write for me, and thus I write in my own handwriting, and do not think it advisable to use the sealed papers. I hope your Excellency will excuse me for my bad handwriting. The bearer of this petition is authorized to answer any inquiries or refer them to me.

Enclosure 3 in No. 9

From His Excellency the VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF *INDIA* to His Highness the MAHARAJA OF *KASHMIR*

Simla, June 28, 1889.

I have received your Highness's letter of the 14th May. It was brought to Simla by a person, deputed by your Highness for that purpose, who appears to have taken advantage of your confidence in order to publish in the newspapers part of a confidential document which should not have been made known to the public at such a moment. I shall always be glad to hear from you should you desire to make me aware of your views, and I hope that you will, in future, forward your letters to me by the ordinary post, through which they will be safely delivered without the risk of any such indiscretion as that which has taken place in the present instance.

It is satisfactory to me to learn from your Highness that you are loyally disposed towards the paramount power,

and that it is your desire to be guided by my advice. I shall give it to you frankly, and without any attempt to conceal my thoughts.

Your Highness has stated in your letter that your conduct has lately been completely misrepresented by your secret enemies; that *Colonel Parry Nisbet*, the *British Resident in Kashmir*, has dealt unjustly with you, and that your chief enemy has been your youngest brother, *Raja Amar Singh*. You suggest that the letter to *Raja Amar Singh*, signed and sealed by your Highness on the 8th March of this year, was written without due consideration, and in consequence of pressure put upon you by the Resident; you urge that you have never enjoyed sufficient independence of action in regard to the affairs of your *State* to enable you to give satisfactory evidence of your ability as a ruler; you beg that may now be given a further trial, and, with this object, you virtually recede from the proposals contained in the letter to *Raja Amar Singh*, of which I just spoken; and, in conclusion, you express, in the strongest language, your inability to submit patiently to the position in which you now find yourself.

I must point out to your Highness that the decision of the Government of *India* to relieve you of an active share in the government of your *State* was arrived at not only in consequence of recent events, but of circumstances which must be within your Highness's recollection, and which occurred some time before my arrival in this country. During the last years of the administration of my predecessor, the *Marquis of Dufferin and Ava*, extremely unfavourable reports had been received by the Government of *India* of the manner in which the affairs of *Kashmir* were administered by your Highness. The finances of the *State* were in disorder, a disorder which, there could be little

doubt, was increased by your own extravagance, while your Highness had surrounded yourself by persons of the worst reputation, whose influence over you produced the most unfortunate results. These complaints, which were made not only by the then Resident, also by certain of the Princes and Sardars of the *Kashmir* State, were borne out by papers which were placed in the hands of the Government of *India*. These contained, amongst other matters, ample evidence to show that you were squandering the resources of your *State* in a most reckless and improvident manner, and in the encouragement of the most unworthy persons.

At this time the Government of *India* anxiously considered the course which it should adopt in reference to your Highness, and its decision was conveyed to you in the kharita of the *Marquis* of *Dufferin* and *Ava*, dated the 25th July of last year. In this letter *Lord Dufferin* pointed out to you the impropriety of your dismissal of your Prime Minister, *Diwan Lachman Das*, who had been appointed after consultation with the Government of *India* without reference to that Government. He strongly urged upon your Highness the necessity of a careful investigation of the condition of the finances of *Kashmir*, and of the executive and judicial services, and he intimated to you that he was prepared to accept, with certain modifications, a scheme which had been proposed on behalf of your Highness for the formation of a reformed Council, of which you were to be the President. The constitution of this Council appeared to *Lord Dufferin* to be open to certain objections, but, in deference to your Highness's wishes, he determined not to press these. He, moreover, expressed his readiness to supply you with a certain number of trained native officials who might be of assistance to you in strengthening your administration.

About this time, in order to meet your Highness's wishes, advantage was taken of the appointment of *Mr. Plowden* to another post, in order to appoint, as Resident in *Kashmir*, a gentleman well known to you, and regarded by you with feelings of friendship and confidence.

Looking back at these events, it is surely not too much to say that the result of the action of the Government of *India* in 1888 was to give your Highness, in the fullest sense of the term, a fair trial, such as that for which you now so earnestly ask. I am, however, constrained to tell your Highness distinctly that the results of that trial appear to have been of a most unsatisfactory kind. In the spring of this year my attention was called to the documents referred to in your Highness's letter; many of these had every appearance of being genuine, and they have, moreover, a striking resemblance to those other papers, of which I have already spoken, and which came into the possession of the Government of *India* at a previous time. Your Highness is correct in expressing your belief that the action subsequently taken by my Government was not justified merely by the disclosures contained in these letters. Even if the whole of these had been unquestionably genuine, I could not bring myself to believe that they had been written deliberately, or with a full appreciation of their meaning. There were, however, other circumstances which the Government of *India* could not do otherwise than take into consideration. The reports from the new Resident of the manner in which your Highness had administered the state had been not less unfavourable than those submitted, from time to time, by *Mr. Plowden*. Notwithstanding the ample resources of your State, your treasury was empty; corruption and disorder prevailed in every department and every office; your Highness was still surrounded by low

and unworthy favourites, and the continued misgovernment of your *State* was becoming, every day, a more serious of anxiety.

This however was not all. A meeting had taken place between your Highness and *Colonel Parry Nisbet* at *Jammu* on the 7th March, and upon that occasion your Highness had distinctly stated that it was your wish to have no more to do with public affairs, and had asked the Resident whether he was prepared to assume, in conjunction with a Council, the management of the State. You repeated several times to the Resident that you were tired of the trouble which had been occasioned to you by official affairs, and that you would prefer to go away and to live in peace privately. At the termination of the interview you stated that you would send your brother, the Prime Minister, *Raja Amar Singh*, to discuss the matter further with *Colonel Parry Nisbet*, and *Raja Amar Singh*, on the following morning, assured the Resident that you had made up your mind to give up interference with public affairs during the next few years. A further conference between yourself and the Resident took place on the following day. You still adhered to the language which you had used on the previous day, only stipulating that the Council was not to interfere with your private affairs. In the afternoon the Prime Minister brought to *Colonel Parry Nisbet* your edict constituting a Council of State, which was to include an English member, and which was to have 'full and sole powers in all the public departments of the *State* for a period of five years,' during which it was provided that 'the *Maharaja* will not interfere, and will have no voice in the administration of the public affairs of the State, but he will continue to enjoy the honorary rights and position of *Maharaja*.' This proposal, emanating directly from your

Highness, could not be treated by my Government otherwise than as embodying your deliberate intentions and wishes; nor can I admit that you are now justified in describing the edict to which I have referred as having been hurriedly written under pressure from *Colonel Parry Nisbet*, who, your Highness will remember, throughout these conversations, expressly pointed out to you that it would not be practicable for him to undertake the management of the *State* in the manner which you had suggested.

When your letter to *Raja Amar Singh* was laid before the Government of *India*, I felt that, in view of the circumstances which I have recapitulated, no other course was open to me than to accept in substance the proposal which you had made. In so doing, however, some important modifications were made in the original scheme. Amongst these I may mention my refusal to take advantage of your suggestion that an Englishman should be appointed to serve upon the new Council; such a step seemed to me to be unnecessary, and I determined not to take it. Again, instead of requiring that the new arrangement should last for at least five years, it was stipulated that it should continue for a time, of which the length was not specified. I may also remind you of the consideration shown to your Highness by the stipulation that your Highness should receive a suitable income from the *State* revenues, and that your rank and dignity should be reserved to you. That this has been done, has been amply proved by the respect shown to you by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on the occasion of his recent visit to your State.

What I have written will show to your Highness how it has come to pass that the Government of *India* felt itself obliged to introduce these change for a time into the

Government of *Kashmir*. The arrangement was arrived at after careful consideration, and with aware. I may add that, by last week's mail from *England*, I have received a letter from the Secretary of *State* for *India*, informing me that Her Majesty's Government fully approve the measures taken by the Government of *India* in April last, and share their conviction that, in the interests of the people of *Kashmir*, and of the ruling a family itself, it has become impossible to leave the control of affairs in your Highness's hands.

It is idle to contend that all this has been the result of a conspiracy against you, in which the Resident, your brother, and the officials of the State, have all had a part. In your letter to me, you admit that you knew the Resident to be "one of the sincere friends of my father, and a good supporter of myself." You had yourself designated your brother, *Raja Amar Singh*, towards whom you felt the greatest affection, for the office of Prime Minister. The officers lent to you by the Government of *India* were, you tell me, excellent men, and they were supplied to you at your own request. If, however, I am to accept the statements now made by your Highness, it would be necessary for me to believe that *Colonel Parry Nisbet*, *Raja Amar Singh*, and the officers referred to, must all of them have changed their nature as well as their disposition towards your Highness within a few months. All these men were, I believe, ready to be your friends, but they have found that your conduct in public and private life was such as to render it impossible for them to co-operate cordially with you.

What I have said has reference to the past. For the future, let me earnestly entreat your Highness to show to the people of *Kashmir*, as well as to the Government of

India, by bearing in a dignified manner the loss of power which you have sustained, and above all, by not associating yourself with local intrigues and conspiracies, or attempts to obstruct the Government, that you have not entirely lost the qualities of a wise and prudent ruler. The settlement announced in *Colonel Parry Nisbet's* letter of the 17th April to the Prime Minister is, as I have already pointed out to you, not necessarily a permanent one. Time will, however, be necessary if the finances of the *State* are to be restored to order, and the results of past maladministration effectually removed. Until this has been done, the present arrangement must certainly remain in force. When these good results have been achieved, it may be possible to give your Highness a larger share in the control of the public affairs of *Kashmir*. Much would, in such case, depend upon your own conduct in the meanwhile. You cannot, therefore, govern yourself too cautiously, or be too careful in selecting your associates and confidants.

I would also ask you to inform *Raja Ram Singh*, who has, I understand, accompanied your Highness to *Jammu*, that the Government of *India* cannot regard with indifference his continued absence from the Council of State. He holds the important post of Commander-in-chief in charge of Military Department, and his failure to attend to the business of this cannot do otherwise than produce the most serious results. Unless therefore, he returns shortly to *Srinagar* and resumes the discharge of his duties, it will be necessary to make some arrangement for the transfer of those duties to other hands.

I will add only one word to what I have said above. Should your Highness at any time desire to address me in connection with this, or other matters, it will always be agreeable to me to learn your wishes, or your opinions; and

should you, at the present time, seek an opportunity of hearing from my own lips my views in regard to these questions, I shall at any convenient time be ready to receive you and to converse with you in a friendly and confidential spirit.

ENCLOSURE 4 in NO. 9

PRELIMINARY REPORT of SETTLEMENT
OPERATIONS in *KASHMIR* and *JAMMU* by A.
WINGATE, Esq., C.S., SETTLEMENT OFFICER

From A. WINGATE, ESQ., C.S., SETTLEMENT
OFFICER, *KASHMIR*, to His Highness the MAHARAJA
OF *KASHMIR* AND *JAMMU*

Srinagar, August 1, 1888.

Para. 1.- History of Appointment.

“ 2.- Preliminary arrangements.

“ 3.- Character of former survey.

“ 4.- Rejection of the previous measurement.

“ 5.- System of measurement adopted.

“ 6.- Area measured in first month.

“ 7.- Local weights and measures.

“ 8.- Forms of Settlement Records.

“ 9.- Details of Establishment.

“ 10.- Expenditure.

“ 11.- Budget estimate of current season.

“ 12.- Remarks on the above.

“ 13.- Estimated cost of measuring the *Kashmir*
Valley.

“ 14.- Probable maximum area of *Kashmir* Valley.

- " 15.- Minimum area of *Kashmir* Valley.
- " 16.- Area of measurement.
- " 17.- Average out-turn per measure.
- " 18.- Out-turn and work each season.
- " 19.- Estimated cost of the settlement.
- " 20 and 21.- Classification of lands.
- " 22.- Remarks on the grouping of villages.
- " 23.- Difficulty of ascertaining current rates of assessment.
- " 24.- Crop experiments.
- " 25.- Rice cultivation.
- " 26.- Famine, etc.-Variations in the season affect the harvest; for example, a wet spring would injure the young crop, or insufficient snows would diminish the water supply, but famine appears only to be caused by heavy rain and cold at the time of ripening or reaping, and fortunately this is a rare occurrence. It is, however, always important that the shali crop should be cut and garnered with the utmost expedition, and any revenue system which tends to delay that operation must in critical season seriously aggravate the disaster. The rabi crops not infrequently suffer from insufficient spring showers, but, from a famine standpoint, wheat, barley, and the like are of little importance, and therefore in the following history of the seasons only those calamities are noticed which seriously affect the population:-

A.D. Samwat

1815 .. 1872..	Population estimated at 8,00,000.
1824 .. 1881..	Severe earthquake, followed by
1828 .. 1885..	cholera.

Government of India & Maharaja of Kashmir

1831 .. 1888	
to .. to..	Severe famine, caused by heavy 'rain
1833 .. 1890..	in the Autumn.
1835 .. 1892..	Population estimated at 2,00,000.
1838 .. 1895..	Floods.
1842 .. 1899	
or .. or..	Cholera.
1843 .. 1900	
1857 .. 1914..	Ditto.
1859 .. 1916	
to .. to..	Scarcity owing to short water-supply.
1860 .. 1917	
1865 .. 1922..	Floods.
1869 .. 1926..	Ditto.
1871 .. 1928..	Ditto.
1872 .. 1929..	Cholera.
1873 .. 1930..	Population estimated at 5,00,000.
1875 .. 1932..	Poor harvest.
1877 .. 1934..	Severe famine, caused by heavy rain
to .. to..	from the end of September, 1 877,
1879 .. 1936..	followed by cholera.
1879 .. 1936..	Good rich harvest.
1880 .. 1937..	Very good ditto.
1881 .. 1938..	Good harvest.
1882 .. 1939..	Good ditto.
1883 .. 1940..	Poor ditto, too little rain.
1884 .. 1941..	Very good harvest.

	poor harvest, spring rains too heavy,
1885 .. 1942	and sowings retarded.
	Severe earthquake.
1886 .. 1943..	Fairly good harvest.
1887 .. 1944..	Good harvest.
	Population estimated at 3,00,000 to 4,00,000.

- Para 27.- Decrease of Population (see p.67)
- “ 28.- Chronic Scarcity of Food (see p. 68)
- “ 29.- Profits on the sale of Cleaned Rice.

“ 30.- SYSTEM OF REVENUE COLLECTION UNDER THE SIKHS. Comming now to the mode of collecting the shali and the revenue generally, I premise that my remarks are based on inquiries made in two tehsils only. The tehsils of Phak and *Lal* are called cash-assessed, and that was one of the reasons why I commenced there. under the *Sikhs* the *State* took a half-share of the *Kharif* crop, and in addition four *traks* per *Kharwar*, and on account of the rice straw and the vegetable-produce of the “Sagasar” plots, the whole of which were kept by the Asami and were supposed to be free of assessment, Rs. 1-9-0 per cent. was added to the total. The *Patwari* and Kanungo got 1/2 a trak per *Kharwar* between them. Inferior village servants got something. Nazarana was levied four times a year, and “tambol” (about two per cent.) was taken on occasion of marriages in the ruler’s family, &c., &c. The villagers had also to feed the *State* watchers of the grain, called “*Shakdar*” Non-resident cultivators paid a little less,

and *Pandits* and Pirzadas only paid two extra *traks* instead of four. For the rabi and kimiti crops all classes of cultivators were taxed alike, and in addition to the half-share, three *traks* per *Kharwar* were taken under the names of extra cesses. the "kimiti" crops appear to be those that have always had a money-valued and are til-gogal, sarson, tobacco, cotton, linseed, saffron, and the like. The distinction is said to date back to the time of Todar Mal, and for these crops money was always required, the assessment being calculated in rupees after division of the produce and the produce being returned to the cultivator. For other crops, whether kharif or rabi, the collection might be in kind, or the villages might be farmed out. But I can find no trace so far of any crop rates. Walnut oil, fruit trees, and honey, have also asways been taxed. Under the above the *State* share was not less than three-fifths of the gross produce, and what the cultivator actually retained was certainly less than two-fifths and probably only about one-third. The abundance of fruits, berries, and nuts, the extensive grazing area, and forest produce, enabled the cultivators to live, but an assessment so heavy as this would extinguish all rights in land, would render land valueless, and would reduce a population forcibly confined within the valley to the condition of tenants-at-will.

Para. 31.-EFFECTS OF A CRUSHING ASSESSMENT.- Accordingly, we find that pressure has from time to time been exercised to keep the land in cultivation, and to such an abject condition have the cultivators-naturally a fine race-been reduced that I have been told by the highest and most trusted officials in *Srinagar* that the *Kashmiri* cannot be trusted with Shali because he would eat the whole of it, that he will not plough unless the tehsildar gives him the seed and makes

him, and that without this fostering care of Government he would become extinct. The truth being that he has been pressed down to the condition of a coolie cultivating at subsistence allowance the *State* property. The *Kashmiris* are called cowardly, because they have lost the rights belonging to the peasantry elsewhere and tamely submit to be driven like sheep before a sepoy. But it is useless to expect that a small population forming an isolated state that looked only to its hills for protection could withstand powerful neighbours like *Afghans* or *Sikhs*, or that so distant and inaccessible province would not be ruthlessly ground down under the endless succession of governors that have enriched themselves in this valley. The *Kashmiri* is strong and hardworking, but his spirit is dormant; and he is grudging the quantity of food the climate makes necessary, but which a short-sighted policy considers gluttonous; and consequently he is being closer pressed every harvest. With fair treatment the peasantry would make a great advance in numbers and in prosperity; and if their claim to consideration, which I am now advancing, is met, the happy days when *Zain-ul-Abdin* passed his jubilee among a contented people may be repeated. If that claim is denied, the State, as I shall presently show, will soon have no land left to legislate for, and will have to beg for its revenue from its present servants. These servants foresee that a land settlement must come some day, and meanwhile they are buying up or otherwise getting possession of the land, and to secure a little temporary rest the cultivators are only too ready to take shelter behind any sufficiently influence *Pandit*.

Para. 32.-REVENUE MANAGMENT SINCE A.D. 1846.-Since the times of the *Sikhs*, the pressure has been undoubtedly relaxed; but it must still be pretty severe when

cultivators are found ready to sell whole village for no other equivalent than the protection of a powerful name. Many of the Mukaddams, or heads of the villages, are very intelligent, but when it comes to seeing their children stinted of food, with hearts sickened by deferred hope, they sign away fatuitously day by day such rights as they possess. During *Maharaja Gulab Singh's* rule (A.D. 1846 to 1857) the *Sikh* procedure was followed, but some slight relaxations were made in favour of land newly cultivated, for large areas were lying waste. His Highness was fond of horses, and a number of grass-rakhs were reserved from cultivation. Under *Maharaja Ranbir Singh*, circles of villages were annually farmed out to contractors called kardars. About 1865 (S. 1922) the extra *traks* per kharwar were reduced for all *Pandits* and Pirezadas for a time to only one trak. From about 1869 (S. 1926) the practice of contracting with the Mukaddams or with the *Zamindars* gradually established itself in place of the farming system, the only two extra *traks* came to be levied instead of four. In 1873-74 (S. 1930-31) the village contracts seem to have been divided up into "asamiwar khewats," or cultivators' accounts, and either produce or cash was taken from each man. In 1875 (S. 1932) the harvest was a bad one, and the *State* took two shares of the produce and left one only to the cultivators. Next year fresh contracts were entered into either with Mukaddams, *Kardars*, or cultivators, and two *traks* per kharwar were again added to the assessment, besides an aggregate tax of Rs. 9-12-0 per cent if paid in cash, or 9 kharwars 12 *traks* per 100 kharwars if paid in kind. This tax included a number of items, such as support of the palace-temple, the abolished kanungo's share, and so on. In 1877 (S. 1934) the scarcity began, and the new contracts broke down, and so the *State* collected in kind

only; and this practically continued till 1880 (S. 1937), when a new "asamiwar khewat" was made, based upon previous years' collections, as estimated in cash, but payable either in produce or cash as the cultivator was able. This "khewat" or cash settlement is supposed still to be valid, but after the good harvest of S. 1937 and 1938 the settlement was thought to have been too easy, and so it was raised by Rs. 8-9-0 per cent., the chief item of the increment being Rs. 6-13-0 for a pony tax, which might be paid in ponies instead of money, and in place of the Rs. 1-9-0 per cent. formerly levied for fodder, the cultivators were required to give five kurus of rice straw per 100 threshed. This settlement includes all cesses except the "tambol" and "nazarana." In 1885 (S. 1942) the Rs. 8-9-0 per cent. tax was remitted, and so now the "khewat" of S. 1937 is supposed to have been reverted to, with the exception of the five kurus of rice straw, which are still taken. In 1886 (S. 1943) one seer per kharwar, formerly payable to the zillahdars, was made payable to the State, who appointed paid chowkidars. If this revenue history is not very correct, it must be remembered that access to the revenue records has been denied me.

Para 33. The so-called Cash Settlement of 1880.

"34.-Hap-hazard way in which the Settlement was immediately increased.-To find out the mechanism of the winding-up process would be tedious if not impossible, but as an example I cite another village. In S. 1937, the "khewat" was fixed at Rs. 617-12-0. In S. 1939, when the villages were practically going by auction, a bidder offered Rs. 107-4-0 increase, and this village was knocked down to him at Rs. 725 per annum.

To this extra taxes, namely:-

Government of India & Maharaja of Kashmir

	Rs.	A.	P.
Dharmarth..	3	10	0
Shafakhana..	7	4	0
Nazrana..	0	14	6
Palace Temple..	0	14	6
Pony-tax..	69	5	0
Tambol..	2	0	0
	84	0	0
Outstanding balance	1	2	0
Total	85	2	0

were added, making the total of Rs. 810-2-0 for S. 1941. In S. 1942, the extra taxes were remitted, as already stated, and so the account stands-

	Rs.	A.	P.
Assessment..	725	0	0
Add for cotton supplied for spinning and weaving soldier's clothing—			
2 <i>Kharwars</i> at Rs. 14 = Rs. 28 + a fine of Rs. 4 for failing to supply the clothing within the year..	32	0	0
Outstanding balance..	39	3	0
Total..	796	3	0

For S. 1943 the assessment is Rs. 725, and with outstanding balance the total is Rs. 741-11-9.

These are the village accounts showing collections. The tehsil accounts showing demands, give for S. 1941 Rs.

787, for S. 1942 Rs. 752, and for S. 1943 Rs.733. It is difficult to deduce from accounts such as these what proportion of the gross produce the *State* takes, and more difficult still to find out what a village really does pay, as I have now to show. I enter into this detail because it is absolutely necessary it should be understood that any intelligible com~~Parison~~ *Parison* between the results of the proposed settlement and either the previous khewat or the present demand, or the actual collections, will be impossible.

para. 35.-HOW THE REVENUE IS COLLECTED.-It might be thought actual collections could be compared with the results of the settlement, but the custom of applying arbitrary prices to the portion of the venue collected in kind, and which forms a large percentage of the whole, and the want of certainly either as to the proportion collected in kind or as to the share of each crop which is taken to make up that proportion, will effectually prevent any com *Parison* with anything whatsoever. The khewat, or so-called cash settlement, so far from being a boon to the people, has been used as a means for getting rid of the restrictions which are imposed by a division of produce, and is accordingly equally detested by the villagers. This is how it is worked. An order is annually issued from *Srinagar* for the collection of a certain quantity, say nine lakhs of kharwars of Shali, the demand being based upon the general aspect of the ripening crop, and pitched 20 to 30 per cent. above what there is a likelihood of getting. Each tehsildar is then informed of the amount he is expected to contribute to this total. He finds this amount, converted at Rs. chilki (Rs.1 1/4 imperial) per kharwar, comes to, say, 10 *annas* in the rupees of his total revenue. He accordingly gives instructions to collect so many kharwars from each village, the total collections

coming upto the amount named from headquarters, or probably rather more, but varying from 16 *annas* to nothing, according to the amount of Shali he thinks can be secured from any particular village. As soon as the villagers learn they have to pay their khewat, say, 10 *annas* in Shali, two *annas* in cotton, mung, &c., and four *annas* in cash, bargaining and bribery begin; the village, if a fairly well-to-do one, eventually securing shali to live upon; if a poor one, eventually securing enough shali to live upon; if a poor one, having to look forward to some other means of eking out a livelihood for the winter.

Perhaps an instance will make the system clearer. It is a village I happened to examine; the accounts are for the year S.1939, and the rupees are chilki, or worth 10 *annas* each.

Amount of Demand. Collected.	Amount
<u>In Cash..</u>	<u>In Cash</u>
Rs. 384-7-3..	Rs. 369-10-9
<u>In Kind..</u>	<u>In Kind</u>
Kh. 191-6 3/4..	Kh. 182-2-0

The meaning of the division of the demand into "cash" and "kind" merely signifies that there must be so much Shali or makki, and that for the rest collections may be in cash or in any other produce. In the following details gross produce is shown for most things in 16-trak kharwars, and the Government share in 15-trak kharwars:-

Thus we have Rs.369-10-9 set down as collected in cash, but which may have been paid partly in kind, and 174 kharwars 2 *traks* compulsorily levied in kind, which, at the

standard price of Rs. 2 per kharwar, would amount to Rs. 348-4-0. This account would show that the total collections were valued at Rs. 717-14-9.

The tehsil accounts state the demand was Rs. 699. This village rose from Rs.499 in S. 1937, the year of the khewat. In S. 1940 and 1941 there was a further increase to Rs. 758, and notwithstanding the remission of taxes in S. 1942, the demand still is over Rs. 700. If it is asked why the district officers should maintain complicated weighments and accounts when the cash demand has been fixed at, say, Rs.700 and they might take Rs. 350 in cash and 175 kharwars in shali, the answer is that no one can tell me.

Para. 36.—Fixed prices for produce enable a *Tehsildar* to manipulate the incident of the Assessment.

Para. 37.— Why the price of Shali is fixed so low.

“ 38.— How Cotton is dealt with.

“ 39.— Cost of Transport to *Srinagar* is borne by the Villagers.

“ 40.— Introduction of a Landlord class.

“ 41.— Chakdars.

“ 42.— Mukarridars.

“ 43.— Evasion of conditions on which land was granted.

“ 44.— Instances of Land held in excess of the Grants.

“ 45.— Chakdars ousting the old Cultivators.

“ 46.— Clandestine possession of Villages.

“ 47.— Instances of Villages ruined by Over-assessment.

“ 48.— The Law Improvement Department.”

49.— How Propriety Titles are manufactured.

"50.— Impossibility of annihilating all rights in Land.

"51.— Official utterance differs from official practice.

" 52.— Proposals for dealing with the Land.

" 53.— With regard to Cultivators.

" 54.— Chakdars, &c.

" 55.— Waste Lands.

"56.— Importance of regulating the distribution of water for irrigation.

" 57.— Self-preservation required that the *Darbar* should confer rights upon the peasantry.

Para. 58.— Serious opposition anticipated.

Para. 59.— Outstanding Balances.

Para. 60.— Forced Labour.— Another matter urgently demanding attention is the manner in which begar, or forced labour, is managed. I am not prepared to say that it can be got rid of all at once. For example, for the *Gilgit*-expedition-transport resort to compulsion is probably necessary. But, were your Highness aware of how orders are carried out, many abuses might cease. At present chakdars' lands, jagir and other specially assigned villages, villages secretly bought or in possession of officials or influential persons, are all exempt. I rode through a particularly nice village with a little *bazar*, and the women and children looking to the trained observer in many little ways better off than the average. I said this village is doing very well, but was answered at once it belongs to so and so, mentioning a well-known official. No coolie can be

seized in villages so protected, and that is one of the main reasons that the khalas cultivators seek to transfer themselves to some nearer shelter. Consequently the whole burden of providing coolies falls upon the khalsa villages and mostly on those too small and poor to attract anybody's care. Further, the way of collecting coolies occasions more discontent than is necessary. A requisition is made, say, for 500 coolies. The tehsildar doubles the number. His emissaries quadruple it, and so a village that ought to supply, perhaps, five coolies, is asked for twenty. Fifteen men have to buy themselves off. It is notorious that this year large sums have been illegitimately collected in this way, to the prejudice of the good name of the *Darbar*. Just as I ventured to recommend that the amount of shali to be taken from each village should be fixed once for all and published, so I would suggest that one coolie per so many rupees of assessment be required to be furnished by each village. A roll would then be made showing how many coolies each village ought to furnish, and this simple expedient would in a great measure stop the oppression and bribery now going on. Eventually, in the Settlement Rules, I should propose to define for what purposes and to what extent, and by whose orders, begar, or forced labour, may be required, and to regulate its remuneration. At present an order to collect coolies sends most of the able-bodied population of a tehsil into hiding for a week or two, to the great detriment of agricultural operations, and a settlement could not exist side by side with such disorganization of revenue-paying families.

JAMMU

Para. 61.- Depredation of Game animals.

“ 62.- Out-turn of Work.

“ 63.- Classification of Lands and Soils.

“ 64.- “ “ “

“ 65.- Difficulty of getting Information.

“ 66.- Land Tenure.

“ 67.- Previous Settlements.

“ 68.- Obstacles to increased Cultivation.

“ 69.- Necessity of reorganizing the rights of Proprietors.

“ 70.- Proposals for dealing with Cultivators.

“ 71.- I have laid before your Highness my proposals for dealing with the land in *Kashmir* and *Jammu*. Should these proposals meet with approval they will be embodied in a Code of Settlement Regulations and submitted for final sanction before the introduction of the settlement in the first tehsils. My account of what is in progress under your Highness's authority, but against your Highness's interests, has been long because I stand alone, and my mere assertion that the *State* treasury was being depleted, and the poor were being turned out of their lands, and the staple food of the people had become a monopoly of the officials, would not be believed. I appeal to your Highness with some confidence, because I have been impressed during my interviews with the belief that your Highness has a ready sympathy for the poor, a keen interest in land questions, and a determination to protect the cultivators against the officials. But my heart fails me when I think that there is no one among those who surround your Highness from whom I can venture to hope for a word in

support of my prayer, that one and all will use every argument to persuade your Highness that my proposals will be detrimental to the traditions, the policy, or the dignity of the State; that they are impossible, and that neither the rice nor the land ought to be trusted out of officials custody. I remember how carefully your Highness had been prepared to be firm on two points, one, that the "Hakimalikana," or proprietorship of the land in *Kashmir*, belonged to the *Maharaja*, and second, that no settlement should be announced till the whole country was measured and ready for settlement on one day or the Government could not be responsible for the rice supply. I remember also with what cordial approval your Highness's remarks on these points were invariably received by the high officials present. The first position, they well knew, secured to them the power of terrorizing over the defenceless cultivators, and, continuing their methods of acquiring the proprietorship of the lands for themselves. And the second position would keep my department from interfering with these practices for years, and as the first papers would grow obsolete before the last were prepared, they knew, that if that condition could only be maintained, the settlement would never come at all. Your Highness, however, was soon convinced that to indefinitely postpone the settlement, however, desirable from the point of view of the officials, was a serious danger, and I have since been urged to prepare tehsils for settlement as soon as possible. But the first position is still preserved, and, though your Highness has listened with patience, I cannot hope I have prevailed. Yet, unless the cultivators are guaranteed possession of the lands they till, a cash, or partly cash and partly shali, settlement is impossible. If the cultivators are to work hard, pay punctually, and keep the treasury fuller than it has ever

been before, they must not be the hopeless, discontented, depressed class they are now. The *State* cannot expect to get everything and give nothing. And behind a strong contented peasantry there must be persons ready to lay out capital when necessary. But who will lend money to a cultivator who may be turned out of his fields and day? Your Highness may think an order not to turn anybody out would suffice. It would be useless when the cultivators themselves are ready to transfer all and any rights they have, to accept any position, any field, so long as they get some shelter, and the officials are eager by every device known to educated and clever men in a position of untrammelled power, and all working with one object, to convert themselves into proprietors, to manufacture prescriptive rights to intervene between the *State* and the cultivator, to finally arrive at the coveted end when the *Pandits* shall be landlords, the cultivators tenants-at-will, or, rather, coolies who cannot escape, and the *State* demand limited to a nominal sum per kharwar which lapse of time and ingenious interlarding of words will combine to make permanent.

Para. 72.—Possibility of Leases.

“ 73.—Renewed Obstructions.

“ 74.—A reasons why we are objectionable.

List of Zillahs and Tehsils in the *Kashmir* Valley in 1887.

B HOUSE OF COMMONS, JULY 3

Mr. BRADLAUGH said: I beg to ask leave to move the adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing "a definite matter of urgent public importance," viz., the taking away by the Government of *India* from the *Maharaja* of *Kashmir* the Government of his *State* and part of his revenues whilst refusing to allow any judicial or Parliamentary enquiry into the grounds for such action against a great feudatory prince.

The SPEAKER having appealed to the House, and considerably over forty members having risen in their places.

Mr. BRADLAUGH said: I am obliged to move the adjournment of the House, because it is the only possible way in which any appeal for the *Maharaja* of *Kashmir* can be submitted to Parliament. The Government of *India* have deprived this chief of his authority and of his property under cover of allegations which are emphatically denied by the *Maharaja* himself. The *Maharaja*, as I shall show, has applied for a trial in *India*. That has been denied him. The Secretary of *State* here has been asked to sanction an enquiry, and has refused; the leader of the House has been asked to appoint a Select Committee of enquiry, and has also refused; so that neither judicial nor parliamentary nor Government enquiry is being allowed, although this gentleman has been subjected to penalties which in the case of the meanest person in this country would entitle him to have the accusations brought before some Tribunal and

witnesses against him heard. There is no other manner of bringing this matter before the House than by moving the adjournment. Though I can understand the hon. gentlemen opposite may think it unfair that the adjournment should be moved, they must remember that on *Indian* matters I have always shown the greatest consideration to the Government; so much so that at the beginning of this Session I did not avail myself, as I might have done, of my right to move an amendment to the Address; and I only now make a motion for the adjournment because there are no estimates in supply in which, as in any case affecting any other portion of Her Majesty's dominions, a question of grievance may be raised. It is either in the manner I am raising it to-night that this grievance must be submitted, or not at all. Now on May 14th of last year—that is more than twelve months ago—the *Maharaja* himself asked the Government of *India* for a fair trial. I will read to the House presently the touching words in which that appeal for a fair trial was met. From then till now, except in a dispatch from which it will be my duty to quote, no kind of answer has been made to that appeal, and the *Maharaja* has been condemned unheard. I should have pressed this claim for inquiry twelve months ago, but there were then no papers before the House. It would have been open for the Government to say in the fashion in which rumours has said that this unfortunate gentleman had been guilty of crime or was suffering the consequences of vice, because these suggestions could be found embodied in official dispatches to which I shall refer, and that there was, therefore, a lack of duty in bringing the matter before the House until the Government had put before it the statements on which they rely. Although this unfortunate gentleman was deprived of his authority and his property at

the beginning of last year, the presentation of papers has been delayed until last week.

They have been repeatedly pressed for by myself and other members. Until the Government had put their case on the table, any one would have been at a great disadvantage in submitting to this House any matter for its decision. I did not propose to ask the House, in the division I shall challenge, to express any other opinion on the facts I shall submit than that when such a penalty is enforced against a prince with whom we have a treaty—who has recently been regarded as being in the position of a feudatory prince—the man so dealt with is entitled to that which any other subject of Her Majesty, if he be a subject of Her Majesty, is entitled to, viz., a fair trial before condemnation. The Under Secretary must not shelter himself under considerations of State. If considerations of *State* can justify the Government of *India* in depriving one man of his authority and property unheard, there is no protection for any one, be he prince or peasant, throughout the whole of our Asiatic dominions. The other day the question was stated as simply as possible in the language of the right hon. gentleman the Under Secretary for *India* (*Sir J. Gorst*) in answer to a question put by myself. The right hon. gentleman said, "The action of the Government in *Kashmir* has been based, not upon grave personal charges made against the *Maharaja*". I would ask the House to remember that, because this man's character has been rumoured away and lied away with the help of forged letters during the last year and a-half—forged letters used as instruments of political warfare—letters, the authenticity of which has been denied by the *Maharaja*, letters which have never been produced in his presence and which yet the Government have the face to refer to in their worst fashion

in one of the dispatches I shall read to the House. I shall be relieved from any question as to the personal conduct of the *Maharaja*. He may be good or bad. I do not care what he is- he is entitled to justice. If he has been criminal let him be condemned and punished, but do not rob him under cover of a criminality which you dare not bring in evidence against him, and as to which you will allow no inquiry either in *India* or here. The right hon. gentleman the Under Secretary said the action of the Government was based upon the long-continued misgovernment of *Kashmir*. Well, this unfortunate gentleman has only been the ruler of *Kashmir* for about five years, and I will quote, to within a few months of the time he was dispossessed, the testimony of the Government itself that misgovernment did not exist as far as it was in his power to help it. I cannot conceive- I should not be justified in saying before you, Sir, anything more impudent- but I can conceive nothing more cool than the audacity of the confidence that his House would imposed upon by the statement of the right hon. gentleman the Under Secretary that there had been long-continued misgovernment in Ireland such as justified the dethronement of this man. Vague statements there are here, but not one statement of fact. Misgovernment must be made up of something. You may shadow a man, put him unjustly in prison, or take away his property. None of these things are alleged against this unfortunate gentleman. Well, the right hon. gentleman went on to say that the Government of *India* have never attached any importance to certain treasonable and criminal correspondence attributed to the *Maharaja*. It would have been as well not to have so described the character of the correspondence if no importance was attached to it. Why suggest that it was a criminal and treasonable if it was not true, as it was not,

that he was responsible for it? I do not suggest that the right hon. gentleman has made an inaccurate statement, but I do say he has been ignorant of the facts.

I will read the evidence given by the Viceroy himself with regard to this correspondence which the right hon. gentleman dare not lay before this House, which he dare not put in print, but on which the emissaries of the Government have lied away the *Maharaja's* character during the last year and a-half. I will dispose of this point at once, because fortunately we have the papers on the Table and are able now to deal with them. So far from its being true that the Government have never attached the smallest importance to the correspondence, the Viceroy himself says the Government were justified "not merely by the disclosure of these letters"—so that they consider themselves in part justified by them (*Sir J. Gorst* indicated dissent)—The right hon. gentleman shakes his head. It is the Viceroy's head that dare not rely on the letters. I admit that the right hon. gentleman has too much good sense to use in justification of the position assumed by the Government letters which the man himself declares to be forgeries and which the Government have never dared to produce to his face. But in a long dispatch, dated "Simla, June 26th, 1889," I say the Viceroy did say these letters were amongst the things on which the Government acted in condemning this unfortunate gentleman. What did the *Maharaja* himself say about these letters? In a letter, which unfortunately time will not permit me to read fully to the House, he made a plea for justice first to the Government of *India*, and then through the Government to the English Parliament. He said, "these letters are nothing but most daring forgeries," and he suggests that one of the forgers, if not the only forger, is his brother, whom the Government of

India has placed in the position of authority of which they have deprived this unfortunate gentleman himself. My allegation will be that it was on those letters—for the papers disclosed nothing else, and further negatives everything else that this action of the Government was based. (*Sir J. Gorst* again expressed dissent.) The right hon. gentleman shakes his head, but I have read the papers, which he evident has not done himself, and I shall read extracts to the House to show that I am within the mark in every statement of this kind I make. Why did the Government of *India*, twelve months ago, say they did not merely act on these letters? What did that phrase mean if they did not act on them at all? Have the Government since discovered they are forgeries? If so, as they are part of the case on which misgovernment and criminality are alleged against this unfortunate gentleman, the whole story of it does now fall to the ground, at any rate rests on other matters, with reference to which this man demands to be put on his trial, and as to which no evidence has been offered. *Lord Cross*, speaking last year at Sheffield, used words a little stronger than, and, if I may be allowed to say so, not quite so skillful as the euphemistic language of the First *Lord* tonight, and of the right hon. gentleman the Under Secretary last week. He said, “we did interfere in the matter of the *Kashmir*, and why? Because the people of *Kashmir* were so ground down by the tyranny and misgovernment of the *Maharaja* that we were bound as the paramount power to interfere for the protection of the interests of the inhabitants.” Where in these papers is there one instance of this grinding down? If you want to steal *Kashmir*, as unfortunately we have stolen *State* after *State* in *India* and other parts of the world, then say so at once and at least have the merit of honest thieves; don’t be

hypocritical, by saying you set up self-government where self-government has no real existence. What is the position of *Kashmir* towards this Country? Fortunately the history is not long, so far as it affects this unfortunate man, and I will deal with it as briefly as it is possible to do. The history of *Kashmir*, for the purpose of to-night's discussion, began with the Treaty of 1846, with the grandfather of the gentleman whose cause I am pleading.

Then for a considerable money payment, recorded in the third section of the Treaty, the *British* Government transferred and made over for ever, in independent possession, to *Maharaja Gulab Singh* and the heirs male of his body, the territory which includes *Kashmir* and *Jammu*. This is not a case of an ordinary feudatory State. So little is it regarded as a feudatory that in the statistical abstract of this very year you have the evidence of its non-inclusion up to 1881 amongst the feudatory States, and there was never anything to suggest that we had a right to send a Resident there until 1885, on the death of the father of the present *Maharaja*. I won't trouble the House with what passed until a few days before the commencement of the reign of the present chief. The *Maharaja Gulab Singh*, with whom the Treaty of the 16th of March, 1846, was made, was succeeded by his son about the time of the *Indian Mutiny*, and *Lord Canning*, in an official document, gave *Maharaja Ranbir Singh*, who had succeeded *Gulab Singh*, in 1857, the Sanad of adoption, which provided that in case of failure of issue he and his successors would be competent to adopt an heir and thus perpetuate the line. This was given on the ground of the great service rendered by the *Maharaja* during the *Mutiny*. The *Maharaja Rumbir Singh* was ill in 1884, and I am afraid that some fourteen or fifteen years ago, when

Jingoism was specially paramount in the making of great military frontiers and things of that kind, we looted with longing eyes upon the property of others, and were disposed to ignore any sense of justice in our dealings with them. It was then said that *Rumbir Singh* had misgoverned his country. If he had, it was a matter with which, except as being by treaty the paramount power, in which case we might have made remonstrance, we had nothing whatever to do. But, as a matter of fact, we made no remonstrance to him. The Under Secretary of *State* dissents. Then why is it not in the papers? The papers began in 1884 with a dispatch relating to the alleged misgovernment during the time of the present *Maharaja's* father. The words of the dispatch preclude the possibility of remonstrance having been made.

But what happens is that while the *Maharaja* was dying, the Viceroy of *India*, looking to the matter, as he says, with a view to his troublesome neighbours on the north-west frontier, suggested certain reforms which on the accession of the son of the then dying man it would be well should be carried out: and I will read to the House in the words of *Lord Dufferin* himself the admission that many of these reforms had been carried out during the short period that this gentleman sat on the throne. In 1885 the succession of *Pratap Singh* was formally recognised by the Government. He came to the throne under the treaty which I have read to the House. One new departure there was against which the *Maharaja* protested, namely, the establishment of a Residency, instead of *Kashmir* being an independent possession, which under the treaty it was, subject to the supremacy of the empress Queen. After the appointment of a Resident it is a monstrously unfair thing to spring a mine four or five years afterwards, and allege as an excuse for confiscating

property and power that there had been misgovernment where, if there had been misgovernment, it should have been reported day by day, week by week, month by month, and year by year. There are no such reports. If the Secretary of *State* has got them he ought to have printed them. I am not asking the House to say that this unfortunate man is guiltless, but I am asking them to say that he is entitled to be tried, and to have an inquiry before he is deprived of his rights. In 1889 the Government deprived this gentleman of his chieftainship. By what right? By no right save the right of force. By what law? By no law save the law of force. Upon what charges? Upon charges of the vaguest description. It is clear these papers are delusive papers. There must have been reports made to the Viceroy, which reports ought to be in the hands of the House. If it is said that they are of a confidential character; if it is said they cannot be produced, at any rate the witnesses who can prove the occasions of misgovernment ought to be produced in some court. Is it because this man is rich; is it because his property is in a place where you want to have possession because of frontier considerations that he is to be deprived of the right which you admit to the meanest person accused within this country, or within the Asiatic dominions of the Empress Queen? It is a monstrous thing, and I ask the House to look at it without consideration of party; because you must remember it is not a question only of this man, but of every feudatory prince whose property you may want to take and merge in our dominions. The papers have not been put on the table in a hurry. They have been in the skilled hands of the Under Secretary. We all know how frank the Under Secretary can be if he tries, and I ask him to tell the House how many papers relating to these important dispatches between the Government of

India and the Secretary of *State* have been kept back, and why. It is clear some have-the language shows it. Why are any kept back? They have been kept back because the action of the Government cannot be defended. I do not know what the charges are against the *Maharaja*, and I am only asking that this Parliament shall say that the Government of *India*, however powerful, and whatever the *State* considerations are, has no right to rob this man.

On the 14th of September, 1885, the Viceroy sent a dispatch to which I must allude for a moment. It was sent just on the accession of the present *Maharaja* to the throne, and I allege to the House it makes a clear bill up to the time, so far as any charges of misgovernment entitled our Government to interfere. The viceroy says: "I trust that your highness's life may be long and prosperous; and that, in all difficulties, of whatsoever kind, you will rely with confidence upon the goodwill of the *British* Government, which will never fail you so long as you are loyal to the Crown, and earnest in the desire to rule your *State* with justice and moderation. Your Highness has before you a difficult task. During the illness of your father the administration of the *State* became seriously disorganised, and it will be necessary for you to introduce many reforms." I will show you that three years after *Lord Dufferin's* time reforms had been carried out, and that misgovernment is a pretext for stealing the man's property. The *Maharaja* wrote in reply protesting against the Residency being placed upon him. He said: "I do not hesitate to admit that the existing state of affairs in *Kashmir* and *Jammu* urgently requires immediate introduction of substantial reforms into the administration of the country, and now that I have power commensurate with my responsibilities, I beg to answer your Excellency that

nothing shall be spared on my part, and no time will be lost to prove beyond any possibility of doubt that it is my ambition to succeed in making my country a model of a well-governed *State* in alliance with the Government of *India*." Having got the Resident at the capital, what do we find? We find that the resident wants to get rid of the *Maharaja*, he submits some report to the Government, the particulars of which we do not know, and a report, the particulars of which we do not know, and a report, the particulars of which we do know, dated March 5th, 1888. Let me point out in the first place that in the dispatch of the 5th of March, 1888, there is nothing to justify any of the words of the Under-Secretary of *State* last week, as to misgovernment, or the words of the First *Lord* of the Treasury-to-night. Now, what was the decision the Government of *India* came to in August, 1888? It was that the condition of the *State* did not seem to demand such action as *Mr. Plowden* had suggested, and that the Government had therefore determined not to resort to measures which would have the effect directly or indirectly of taking the power out of the *Maharaja's* hands.

Yet no less than seven months after that dispatch power was taken of his hands, and taken out solely on these letters. Solely, perhaps, is a strong word to use; but it was immediately after coming into possession of these letters, suggesting the worst of crimes-letters which the *Maharaja* has always denied, and as to which he is certainly entitled to be heard before a Select Committee of this house or before the Viceroy himself. He had confidence in the *British* Government, but he had no confidence in the officials who he said misrepresented him. The decision that there should be no interference with the *Maharaja* directly or indirectly disposes of *Mr. Plowden's*

report of the 8th of March, 1888. I come now to April, 1889, when we had some further action. I will first mention that on the 25th of July, 1888, *Lord Dufferin* wrote: "I do not overlook the fact that since the appointment of the Council of which *Diwan Lachman Dass* was a member, considerable progress has been made in the direction of reforms; useful work has been done with regard to the revenue administration, and in the reorganisation of the Public Works and Medical Department. But much remains to be done." This is not the language of condemnation of chronic misgovernment and the grinding down of the people. Misgovernment is only on invention-an excuse for having dispossessed this man, and I think I have a right to quote the evidence given by *Lord Dufferin* in 1888. This unfortunate prince, hampered by the Resident who dictated the policy he should pursue, did make such reforms as entitled him to the praise of *Lord Dufferin*-a statesman of the greatest eminence of the keenest judgment, and a man who cannot be charged with being at all partial to the class of man I am defending here this afternoon. Now I come to these forged letters. There is a batch of thirty-four, and the *Maharaja* says that they are all forgeries.

I do not ask you to say whether they are or are not, but I say that if they are used against him he is entitled to go into court and cross-examine the witnesses against him. Other letters on which the Government have relied have been abandoned as forgeries within the memory of many of us in this House. What is the character of these letters as described by the Resident? The character of them is that the *Maharaja* offered large sums of money to certain individuals on condition that they would murder, or cause to be removed, *Mr. Plowden*, the late Resident. It is alleged that these letters showed treasonable correspondence with

the enemies of *England*. All these things are denied by the *Maharaja*. I do not ask you to say whether the *Maharaja* is right or wrong, but I say that when letters alleging murder are produced against a prince with whom we have a treaty of alliance, immediately after which we take away his property, the commonest and the merest justice demands that he should have an opportunity of being heard before a Select Committee of this House, or some tribunal competent to deal with his offence, if offence he has committed. The Government are not going to stand by these letters to-night, but the Viceroy has stood by them, and I will read you words in which year"—that is last year—"my attention was called to the documents referred to in your Highness's letter. Many of these had every appearance of being genuine, and they have moreover a striking resemblance to those other papers of which I have already spoken, and which came into the possession of the Government of *India* at a previous time." "Your Highness is correct in expressing your belief that the action subsequently taken by my Government was not justified merely by the disclosures contained on these letters." Where is the report upon which they acted? The man had a right to be tried. The letters are vague statements. The Viceroy goes on: "Notwithstanding the ample resources of your State, your treasury was empty." Well, if you are going to dethrone every Prince whose treasury becomes empty, I do not know how far you are prepared to carry your policy. Does the Government really mean that? If that be so, how is it they took from this man the advance or deposit or loan of a large sum of money, amounting to twenty-five lakhs of rupees? They had this in their hands when the treasury was empty. Why did they take money for Lady *Dufferin's* admirable fund? Why, if the treasury was

empty, did they not reckon the millions of rupees for railway works in the interest of frontier defence? Treasury empty! Why, you and your Resident helped to empty it, and then you tell this unfortunate man it is a reason why he should be dethroned!

Sir Mr. BRADLAUGH : Will the hon. gentleman finish the sentence?

Mr. BRADLAUGH : You put on the table what you please, and I have to make the best I can with the House half empty, because every member feels the difficulty when a motion for adjournment is moved. I have, with such knowledge as is supplied, to make what case I can with this far off matter.

Sir Mr. BRADLAUGH : Only interrupted the hon. gentleman to point out that he had not read the sentence to the end, and I thought to put the case fairly it should be given to the end.

Mr. BRADLAUGH : I will read it to the end and show that the right hon. Gentleman gains nothing by making me read it. "Notwithstanding the ample resources of your State, your treasury was empty? Corruption and disorder prevailed in every department and every office; Your Highness was still surrounded by low and unworthy favorites; and the continued misgovernment of your *State* was becoming every day a more serious source of anxiety." Well, there is not a word affecting finance there. I was going to deal with each allegation in turn. "Low and unworthy favourites!" Every prince has these even in his own household; every Oriental prince has such. The whole history of our transactions with native princes shows that when we have used vices which appeared at the time to suit our purpose and help us to gain our ends. I do not know what the right hon. gentleman means by inviting me to read

to the end, as if I had committed some allusion to the empty treasury. Why the *Indian* Government had then twenty-five lakh or rupees of his, and millions of rupees had been led out in railway words. Who are these low and unworthy people? It is not enough to make a vague statement; where is the evidence? Let the man be tried. A man complains of a burglary in his jeweller's shop, and you say to him, "Oh but you were misusing the jewels." I ask the House to take at least some tone of dignity in this matter. This despotic government of *India*; as an *Indian* Secretary once said, has no public opinion to influence it, no Parliament to control it, no Press to criticise it. The Government of *India*, it is a despotism which has brought in its train advantages which many of these poor people would not otherwise have obtained; but it cannot be denied that in many respects that despotism in the past has been tainted with fraud and crime, and I hope it is not left to the present Government to revive these evil traditions in obtaining possession of *Kashmir*. The Empress Queen, the paramount Power, acting as Judge, has condemned this man unheard. No man should be under menace of this injustice. The grandfather of the Prince bought these lands, and we by treaty declared they belonged to him for ever. (*Sir John Gorst* expressed dissent.) The right hon. gentleman does not seem to be acquainted with all these facts in the history of *India*. Shall I ask him to read and tell us exact sum paid for the *Maharaja's* dominions? How do the Government justify their action? They say the *Maharaja* resigned. He says he did nothing of the kind. I am more inclined to believe him than even the Under Secretary, for whose statements I have always the profoundest respect. Officially, there could be nothing better than the way he answers questions in this House; but when history some fifty years hence comes to

deal with him, the comment of the historian will be how wickedly the Government deceived the Under Secretary, making him say as truth the things that were not true. It is said the *Maharaja* voluntarily resigned. It is true that on March 8th, 1889, the *Maharaja* issued the following document. I will abridge it; if it is said I am incorrect I will read the whole willingly; but I do not think my abridgement will differ from the exact words. The *Maharaja* appointed a Council who were to govern the country for five years, he reserving to himself all his princely rights and reserving certain powers, but allowing them much the same authority as, allowing for Oriental position, a Cabinet enjoys here. The Government of *India* do not accept that, yet they say they accepted a voluntary resignation. What he offered they would not have, what they wanted they took from him. The *Maharaja* says that even in the decree of March 8th he acted under pressure. I do not ask the house to accede to that, but I do say that he is entitled to a Select Committee here—or he would be even content with an inquiry conducted in *India*, if Lord Lansdowne will give his personal attention to it. The right hon. gentleman is better acquainted with the Government of *India* than I am. He knows that Residents are not always perfect, that Residents sometimes quarrel with a prince, and that matters are alleged as facts which do not always bear the test and scrutiny of examination. This man through my mouth appeals to this House, not that you, should declare that the Government of *India* is wrong—he simply asks for an inquiry. He has a right to that inquiry. I regret that the appeal has not been made by an abler tongue, by a better informed man. But I am limited to the information that the Parliamentary papers presented to the House, and such records as the history of *India*, enables me to present, and I

say without fear of contradiction that no case is made out for the action that has been taken. In 1888 the Government of *India* and the Secretary of *State* in Council at home came to the conclusion there was nothing for which directly or indirectly the *Maharaja* ought to be deprived of power; and within seven months they take it all away. If you trample on treaties, if your obligations to the Princess of *India* are to be broken, and the native rulers are not to rely on your word, and English justice in *India* is a shadow and a delusion, let that be known; but let those who hold a contrary opinion vote for my motion as the means of protest. The government of *India* is no party question; alike to Liberal or Conservative, Radical or Whig, it is our duty and our interest that our paramount rule in *India* should be just.

Motion made that this House do now adjourn.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR *INDIA* (*Sir John Gorst*, Chatham): I do not for a moment dispute the right of the hon. member to challenge the action of the Government of *India*, or to ask the House to order an enquiry, if there is anything to enquire into. If the House will give me its attention for a short time I will tell the House why the Government of *India* has acted in the manner it has, and why it appears to the Secretary of State this is not a subject which can properly be made matter of inquiry, either by Judicial Commission in *India* or by Select Committee of the House of Commons. I need not take the House back to the early history of *Kashmir*. The hon. member for *Northampton* has, in the little history he has given, indicated to the House that after the *Sikh* war we, by force of arms, placed a *Hindu* ruler over the *Muhammadan* people of *Kashmir*; and by doing this, we

incurred, as it seems to me, the responsibility of seeing that these *Muhammadan* people, who by the action of the *British* Government were subjected to an alien dynasty, were at least fairly and properly governed. Now complaints of the misgovernment of *Kashmir* are not so modern as the hon. member for *Northampton* seems to suppose. I should like to read to the House the observations which were made by the Government of *Lord Ripon* in 1884, and *Lord Ripon* was a Viceroy whose error did not at all events lie in over interference with native chiefs. This was what was said by the Government in 1884. The misgovernment to which the people of this country (*Kashmir*) have long been subjected. The hon. member for *Northampton* asks what the nature of the misgovernment was, and I will try before I sit down to give the House some faint idea of the nature and results of this misgovernment.—*Lord Ripon* said “The people of that country have been subjected to misgovernment, and this was some time since brought prominently into notice by *Mr. Henvey*; we did not take action at once conceiving that a favourable opportunity would offer on the occasion of a fresh successor”—the *Maharaja Ranbir Singh* was then suffering from a mortal illness and his death was expected—”when that event takes place we shall consider that it will be our duty to express on the *Kashmir* Government its obligations to its own subjects, and to see that reforms so urgently needed are no longer postponed.” To those remarks to *Lord Ripon*’s Government an answer was returned by *Lord Kimberley*, Secretary of State, under the right hon. gentleman the member for Midlothian, and *Lord Kimberley* stated in his dispatch his doubts whether the Government of *India* was justified in hesitating so long as it had hesitated, to interfere in the affairs of *Kashmir*. It may indeed be questioned whether, having regard to the

circumstances under which a *Hindu* family were settled as rulers, the intervention of the *British* Government on behalf of the *Muhammadan* people had not already been too long delayed. Well, the Government of *India* waited eighteen months, and in 1885 the late *Maharaja* died, and the present *Maharaja* came to the throne. The hon. member for i has already read some of the warnings which were addressed to the *Maharaja* of *Kashmir* on the occasion of his ascending the throne, but he said—and I really was surprised when he made the statement to the House—that until quite recently no complaint was made of his administration, and in fact he quoted a few expressions from some of *Lord Dufferin's* dispatches, which would have left upon the House the impression that upon the whole the Government had been very successfully administered and many reforms had been carried out. Now, what did *Mr. Plowden* say in March, 1888. He thought it his duty to call the formal attention of the Government of *India* to the fearful condition of *Kashmir* under the *Maharaja* and his associates, whom he calls a band of corrupt and mischievous men. *Mr. Plowden* says: "I think, however, that the Government of *India* should be under no illusion as regards *Maharaja Pertab Singh*. From first to last I have failed to discover in him any sustained capacity for governing his contrary any genuine desire to ameliorate its condition or to introduce those reforms which he has acknowledged to be necessary. More than two years have passed since his accession, but not only has he achieved nothing but he has opposed beneficial measures proposed by others....He will never of his own free will establish a capable and honest administration; nor if any power of interference it left him will he permit any administration approved by the Government of *India* to carry on the

business of the country. He will thwart and oppose it in every way he dares; the only restraint will be the limit of his powers and his fears." Well at the same time that *Mr. Plowden* made this grave report to the Government of *India* on the condition of the country and the character of the *Maharaja*, a proposal was made by the *Maharaja* himself to appoint a council.

Mr. BRADLAUGH : The right hon. gentleman will pardon me. I stated to the House that on the report of *Mr. Plowden* the Government came to the decision not to take the power from the *Maharaja*, and that *Lord Dufferin* contradicted *Mr. Plowden* by recognising the fact that since the appointment of the council of which *Diwan Lashman Das* was a member considerable progress had been made in the direction of reform.

Sir JOHN GORST : The hon. member is impatient. I am coming to that. I shall have something more to say first. At the time that this report was sent home, application was made by the *Maharaja* to have a Council appointed, upon which the Government of *India* decided to give him another trial to see whether by his Council he would govern the country better. I must say, speaking by the light of after events, it was unfortunate that the Government of *India* accepted the proposal, set aside the report of *Mr. Plowden*, and gave the *Maharaja* what in vulgar phrase would be called "another chance." I confess if the hon. member for *Northampton* instead of attacking the Government of *India* for having at last relieved the *Maharaja* of the functions of government had attacked the Government for being so weak in 1888 as to give this second chance, I am sure that I as Under Secretary would have found it difficult to make out a good defensive case. But *Lord Dufferin* decided on this course. He wrote a

complimentary letter to the *Maharaja*, which the hon. member has read, and no doubt he made use of the expressions the hon. member has quoted as to the success of the Council, since the appointment of *Diwan Lachman Dass*, under whom considerable progress, he said, had been made in the direction of reform. But will the House believe that the object of that letter, on which the hon. member relies as showing the improvement in the government of the country, was to remonstrate with the *Maharaja* for dismissing summarily, and without the knowledge of the Government of *India*, that same *Diwan Lachman Dass* whose reforms were praised in the passage of *Lord Dufferin's* letter which the hon. member has quoted as praising the *Maharaja* for his improvements in the government of his country. The beginning of *Lord Dufferin's* letter, which the hon. member has not quoted, is as follows: "I cannot avoid informing your Highness appointed him to your Council after consulting me, and I hoped that your Highness would before making another change of government give me some previous intimation of your views. However this point has already been brought to your notice by *Mr. Plowden*, and I do not now desire to dwell upon it further. "Well, the arrangements for governing the country by means of a Council were made, and in order to give the new scheme the fullest possible chance of success, *Mr. Plowden* was removed from *Kashmir* on the occasion of his promotion, and *Colonel Nisbet*, a placed implicit confidence, was sent to *Kashmir*. Now I said I would give the House some little idea of the misgovernment which the hon. member for *Northampton* made so light of, and of which he said no trace was to be found in the papers before the House. Now if hon. members have read the papers, they will see that they close with the

report of a certain gentleman of the name of Wingate. *Mr. Wingate* was a revenue officer of the *Bombay* Government of nineteen years' experience, and he had also been employed in the revenue settlement of some of the Native States of *Rajputana*. He was a highly qualified and experienced officer. He was employed by the *Maharaja's* Government, and his report well deserves the study of anybody who desires to understand the position of *Kashmir*, although it is full of technicalities and written in a dry business-like technical spirit, but his narrative is enlivened occasionally by the most horrible statements as to the condition of *Kashmir*. Let me say this gentleman was eighteen months among the people surveying in *Kashmir* and *Jammu*, and he appears to have gone to work in a dry business-like fashion. In these Oriental States we know that the foundation of the happiness of the people consists in the correct measurement of their land. The first thing *Mr. Wingate* discovered was that the measurement of the land upon which the ryots paid their rent was altogether measured against the ryots.

Mr. BRADLAUGH : Does the right hon. gentleman represent that in any way that this was done under the direction of the *Maharaja*?

Sir JOHN GORST : The evil existed under the Government of the *Maharaja* and it was approved by the *Maharaja's* Government there.

Mr. BRADLAUGH : *Mr. Wingate's* report to the existing state of things. Part of the condition of things that existed over *Kashmir* it was no part of the misgovernment of the *Maharaja*.

Sir JOHN GORST : It is part of the condition of things in *Kashmir* under a government of which the *Maharaja* was the head. I do not know whether

the *Maharaja* shields himself under the allegation that all this had happened in the past and that he was not responsible for the misgovernment which he allowed to exist. I don't think this House will take such a view of the limitations of the *Maharaja's* duties to his subjects. Besides, we have read *Mr. Plowden's* report, in which it is stated that the *Maharaja* opposed those reforms he himself considered necessary. Even the assessment of the ryots is arbitrarily fixed, and a divisional official gets the revenue out of the unhappy cultivators in the best way he can—the result being that from one-half to two-thirds of the gross produce of the land was exacted from these unhappy people, mostly in kind and partly also in cash.

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Mr. BRADLAUGH: Does not *Mr. Wingate* say that began as far back as 1874?

Sir J. GORST: I have been reading the report—

Mr. BRADLAUGH: You have not been reading at all.

Sir J. GORST: The hon. member challenged me to say what the misgovernment was in *Kashmir*.

Mr. BRADLAUGH: I challenged the right hon. gentleman to prove misgovernment on the part of the *Maharaja*.

Sir J. GORST: I am the recollection of the House. I appeal to hon. members whether, if the case rested solely on the speech of the hon. member for *Northampton*, they would not have gone away in the belief that *Kashmir* was the best-governed country in the world. I am showing what was the state of affairs which compelled the Government of *India* to take this action. I am going to show the House why the Government in the interests of humanity were peremptorily called upon to take this step. (A laugh.) The hon. member may laugh, but I think it is not a laughing matter. Now let me describe what was done. The assessment was paid at fixed rates in kind: that is to say it was levied on the people in money value and then they were made to give produce at certain fixed and prescribed rates in lieu of paying the assessment in cash. In the case of rice, the main staple which the ryots cultivator—All this is in *Mr. Wingate's* report, and if I am epitomising it unfairly the hon. member can subsequently correct me. I do not see why he should interrupt me now.—But the prescribed rates for cotton, which is grown by the richer ryots, were very favourable therefore it came to this: that the officers of the Revenue allowed the rich ryots to pay on the staple bearing the most favourable rate while the poor ryots to pay on the staple bearing most unfavourable rates; and every year, says *Mr. Wingate* in his report “the bulk of the rice goes into the city,” and further, he adds., “these poor ryots often

have to buy it back at two or three times the price at which it was credited to them in their assessment," and then this dry technical report contains this statement—"In this fertile valley there are woman and children actually starving." Further on it says: "It may be easier now to understand why the *Kashmiri* cares naught for rights in land, why his fields are follow or full of weeds, and manure and water neglected; why he has, as I can well believe, even to be forced to cultivate. The revenue system is such, that whether he works much or little he is left with barely enough to get on till next harvest. He is a machine to produce shall for a very large and most idle city population."

Mr. MACNEILL: Like Ireland!

Sir J. GORST: A city, the population of which consists of officials and of *Hindu Pandits* who have prepared the brief from which the hon. member for *Northampton* spoke. These men get their rice cheap, while the ryot who grows it and is forbidden to dispose of it for export, starves. Again, *Mr. Wingate* says that "the cultivator is compelled to grow rice, and in many years to part with it below the proper market rate in order that the city may be content. If the harvest is too little for both the city must be supplied, and is supplied by any force that may be necessary, and the cultivator and his children must go without. That is the explanation of the angry discontent that filled the valley during the famine.

The cultivator is considered to have rights neither to his land nor to his crops. The city population have a right to be well fed whether there is famine or not," and that is not all; the officials of the revenue contractors are gradually in *Kashmir* converting themselves into landlords. They get grants of waste land, they foreclose

upon ryots who are indebted, and they purchase a considerable part of the land, and as *Mr. Wingate* says: "Since the death of the *Maharaja Gulab Singh*, from which date central authority appears to have been weaker, there has been a steadily, and latterly, rapidly increasing transference of land from the cultivating to the non-cultivating classes, and a landlord element is intruding itself between the cultivator and the state." I earnestly commend this to the attention of some of the hon. members from Ireland. Then, besides this, there exists among the unhappy ryots a system of begar, or forced labour. This scourge which is peculiar to the Government villages, and these landlords are free is imposed upon the people with the utmost severity.

Mr. BRADLAUGH: I venture to make an appeal to the right hon. gentleman. I fancy that by the rules of the House I have no right of reply. I wish to ask him, in reference to this forced labour, whether it is not a fact that the system prevailed long before the death of the father of this unfortunate gentleman, and whether the *Maharaja* did not himself issue a decree abolishing it.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! I may explain that the hon. member will be entitled to reply, and it would be more convenient than to interrupt the right hon gentleman.

Mr. BRADLAUGH: I will, sir, at once take advantage of the right of reply which you have ruled rests with me. The point I wish to state is so important that I think it better to put it before the House at once. I say that the report of *Mr. Wingate* refers to no specific act of misgovernment by the deposed *Maharaja*. It relates a state of things which obtained long prior to the *Maharaja's* birth, and which he has himself partially remedied since his

accession to power. In September 1885 he actually issued a decree abolishing forced labour both in *Kashmir* and in *Jammu* so far as he could. For three years this unfortunate man step by step took up reforms, and in one of his dispatches he speaks of the settlement of the land question as a task which it would take five years to deal with.

I never said that the Government of *Kashmir* was perfect, on the contrary, I said that, like all Oriental governments, it had many defects, and that the people of *Kashmir* were in a state of misery and difficulty from which millions of the population of *India* were not free. I repeat that no specific act of misgovernment has been even pretended to be proved against the *Maharaja*, and that so far as *Mr. Plowden's* report is concerned the decision of the Government of *India* itself was that it did not justify any interference on their part.

Mr. MACNEILL (Donegal Co.); The Under Secretary for *India* is always interesting and his great abilities add additional charms to what he says. But on this occasion I think it was scarcely fair in accusing me of smiling at the sufferings of these people. I see too much suffering to regard it otherwise than with infinite sorrow and sympathy. What I smiled at was this. Knowing as I do the infamous transactions and secret springs which I intend to expose, I smiled that a gentleman representing a Government guilty of such conduct should claim universal benevolence and pretend to be benefiting the people, whereas they are robbing an ancient prince of his inheritance. The right hon. gentleman was careful to put forward the religious question, and to point out that the *Maharaja* was a *Hindu* while his subjects were *Muhammadans*. But I can tell him that if he would take a plebiscite of

the inhabitants of *Kashmir* he would find that three-fourths of the people favoured the restoration of the prince.

We know that forty millions of our subjects in *India* are in a constant state of starvation, and that during the famine in 1877 the number of deaths from famine exceeded the population of *London*. Surely our efforts at administration in *India* have not been so successful as to justify our bringing more of the natives under our system? I heard the speech of the right hon. gentleman, and I must confess I thought it a most shifting defence. I think I shall be enabled to prove that the *Maharaja* has been deprived of his inheritance simply by the pursuance of an annexation policy, which was the approximate cause of the *Indian* Mutiny. What has happened is what is called in Ireland "land grabbing." The *Maharaja*, who was placed in his position many years ago, has displayed nothing but kindness and loyalty to the *British* rule. He was placed on that throne, and it was reserved to him and his heirs, and in the meantime he has acted well towards this country. With regard to the letters on which so much stress has been laid, none of them have been read to the House.

Dr. HUNTER: Mr. Speaker, the defence which has been offered on the part of the Government does not explain the degradation from his rank of the *Maharaja* of *Kashmir*, and act of unjustifiable spoliation. One remark with which the Under Secretary of *State* wound up his remarks, intended to be eloquent, was an appeal to this House on behalf of the poor Moslem cultivators. Why the *Muslim* cultivator? Surely a *Hindu*, if he happens to be a cultivator, is as much entitled to sympathy as the *Muslim*. But the right hon. gentleman laid stress on the word *Muslim*, in order to excite those unhappy religious prejudices which unfortunately prevail in *India*. We know

that in *India*, unhappily, both *Muslims* and *Hindus* are animated by strong fanatical opinions on the peace. And here is the Under Secretary for *Indian* in this House pointing his moral by the contrast between the *Muslim* and the *Hindu* peasants, and trying thus to fan the members of religious antipathy.

What are the reasons which he adduced why the *Maharaja* should be deposed. Not one of the reasons had the slightest relation to anything that was done by the *Maharaja* of *Kashmir* himself. That I pass by. But what is the state of the country upon which he relies. There were three arguments. The first argument was that in consequence of the mismanagement of the revenue derived from the land, there was great deal of poverty in the country, and that the population had largely diminished. Well, I was amazed to hear a minister sitting on that side of the House using that as an argument why the *Maharaja* of *Kashmir* should be deposed; because the *Maharaja* has equally good reason for deposing you from the government of Ireland, if that argument has any validity whatever. But that is not the only thing. We are told that the land revenue is extortionate. That is no doubt the reason why you are putting out the *Maharaja* and putting in yourselves. There is no doubt a margin, a large margin, which excites the cupidity of the *British* Government, and induces them to take possession of that country. But all this argument simply comes to this point, that according to the view of the Government of *India*, the ancient, not the recent, mode of collecting the revenue from the land is defective, and that oppressions arise in the exercise of the right; so that, according to the eloquent language of the right hon. gentleman, the people are starving in the midst of plenty. That is precisely the condition of things in Ireland. The

case of *Ireland* is an analogous case. Not a single argument adduced by the right hon. gentleman in reference to *Kashmir* but is applicable to *Ireland*, in the eyes of impartial people living outside the latter country. I am afraid the transaction is a very doubtful one, when it has to be supported by such statements as those which have been advanced by the Under Secretary of State.

Sir R. TEMPLE: Mr. Speaker, I feel bound to trouble the House for a very few moments on this subject, because I am one of those members who happen to know this country. I have travelled over every portion of it repeatedly, and for years I was officially connected with it. And though I never had the pleasure of knowing the *Maharaja* of *Kashmir* personally, unless I may have seen him as a child, yet I knew his father well, and I knew his grandfather also, and I may say well. Now, sir, much has been said by the hon. member for *Northampton* and by the hon. member for South *Donegal*, and again by the hon. member for *Abedeen*, who has just down, regarding the ambitious or greedy eye which *England* has cast upon *Kashmir*. Indeed, in effect, the language used by hon. member implied the charge that *England* is attempting a theft of territory. Indeed hon. member for *Northampton* exhausted the resources of phraseology in order to accuse his country of appropriating the lands of others.

But is the House aware that *England* gains not one rood by the transactions which are now under consideration? All that happens is the transfer of the sovereignty from one brother to another. The power, the wealth, the property, remain in the same family; it is a mere exchange from one person to another. *England* remains exactly in the same position as she was before, and is in no wise benefited. She has acted with entire disinterestedness,

and whether she is wrong or whether she is right, her sole object has been to benefit the people of *Kashmir*. What ground has the hon. member for South *Donegal* for saying that we want a frontier there.

I am afraid the hon. member does not know what our frontiers are. We have no military frontiers in that direction. It is not from there that we should be invaded. No, sir, the mighty mountains of the Himalaya constitute an impassable barrier to any enemy, either from *Asia* or from *Europe*. Then, sir, the hon. member for *Aberdeen* seemed to find fault with my right hon. friend the Under Secretary for saying that the *Muslim* of *Kashmir* must be protected. The hon. member entirely misapprehended my right hon. friend's meaning. What my right hon. friend meant was this, that the *Maharaja* of *Kashmir* was a *Hindu* potentate, and that we interfered by force of arms to place him over a *Muslim* population—a population which was not *Hindu* at all by allegiance or by tradition.

They were therefore placed under an alien prince by the action of the *British* Government. My right hon. friend meant to say that we were bound to see that the *Muslim* population suffered nothing at the hands of the *Hindu* masters whom we had put over them. Then the hon. member for *Aberdeen* spoke of the gratitude which we owe the *Maharaja* of *Kashmir*. I am not prepared to deny that sovereigns of this house have behaved well. The grandfather co-operated with us during the darkest days of the mutiny. But after all the gratitude was due from him to us rather than from us to him. He was our ally. We had placed him on the throne for political reasons of our own, and he was bound to act for us when we

required his services. Something has been said of the several *British* residents.

I was grieved to hear the terms of disparagement in which the hon. member for *Northampton* spoke of those most able servants of the state. At all events, they have no party purpose to serve; they are above partisan considerations. They may, like all men, be liable to error, but they are completely disinterested, and their action is based on perfect impartiality. In this case it was not one or two, but three residents—men of different ideas, but who all come to the same conclusion respecting the Government of *Kashmir*. Then, sir, regarding the misgovernment, I quite admit that reforms were at one time introduced and carried out to a considerable extent.

Of all countries, *Kashmir* is the most favoured in climate. It may be severely cold in winter, but in summer it is fertile and bountiful as any place in the world. That its population is decreasing is a sign of misgovernment. I quite admit that there may have been outbreaks of cholera and other epidemics, but as for famine it is the last place in the world where such a calamity could be expected. The question comes what is the nature of the misgovernment? Well now, I submit that is a question which should be left to the responsible government on the spot. I submit it is our duty to see that a good government is set up in that Empire. But when that has been set up do not harass it, or interfere with it or try to establish committees of inquiry here to investigate the matters, but accept the advice of the responsible authorities. If you are to have a Government at all we must trust to judge of these questions. There is, we are told, a bad system in this *Stâte*, that the population is decreasing, property is not secure, that communications are not looked after, that the whole

land is going rapidly to ruin, and that all departments are falling to a low level. But how are we to examine into these matters by an inquiry such as is asked for? These are the very things which are within the purview of Government and cannot be tested by judicial process. We all know how that would end in the acquittal of the charged. All these matters should be left to the Governor-General in Council, and to him we should entrust the responsibility. An inquiry such as is now proposed would have a bad effect in *India*. The hon. member for *Northampton* speaks as if this political measure of superseding the *Maharaja* of *Kashmir* would have a bad effect; but I can assure him that to have an inquiry of this kind, in which the whole government of *Kashmir* would be overhauled, would be a measure above all others which would be calculated to alarm and would be repugnant to those very persons whom he proposes to serve.

Sir UGHTRED KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH: In this debate we have been placed under this disadvantage, that the papers relating to *Kashmir* are not yet in the hands of members. But by the courtesy of the right hon. gentleman (*Sir John Gorst*), I have had the advantage of perusing these papers for a short time and it is only fair that I should rise to say, that so far as I can judge from a hasty persual of the papers and following carefully the speech of the right hon. gentleman, he has stated the case as regards the action of successive Viceroys and successive Secretaries of *State* in their relation to the late *Maharaja* of *Kashmir* and the present *Maharaja* with perfect fairness. I may which have been laid before us show a necessity for such an inquiry as is asked for.

I believe if hon. members will examine these papers they will find that there is nothing in them to call for

a review by a Parliamentary Committee of the patient and deliberate action of the Government of *India*, who seem to have hesitated long before taking any strong step, although the misgovernment of the *Maharaja* has been, I fear, of a very glaring description. I would only venture to make this one remark. It should be a satisfaction to members on this side of the House to find with respect to the Government of *India* that it has not been drawn into the annexation policy, which my hon. friend (*Mr. Bradlaugh*) deprecates, but that it leaves the Government of *Kashmir* under a council of natives of *India*, guided by the Resident of *India*; and in concluding a dispatch addressed by the Viceroy treats him with the greatest consideration and courtesy, and expresses a hope that it may be possible to give greater power to him in the future. At present the *Maharaja* is put in an ornamental position. He is not deposed but simply relieved of the powers of ruler of the country and these powers are confided to a council. I hope therefore the House will pause before voting for this motion.

Sir. *WM. PLOWDEN*: I will not detain the House for more than a few minutes, but I am not at all satisfied with the statement of the Under Secretary of *State for India*. The course of the debate has rather taken us from the point we ought to have before us, and I am very much surprised to hear the remarks which have fallen from the hon. member who has just spoken, in face of the glaring case which has been made by the member for *Northampton*. The member for *Northampton*¹ is condemning the action of the Government of *India*, and is asking the House to express its sense of the course taken by the Government of *India* with respect to the *Maharaja* of *Kashmir*, and his complaint is that they have not given this man a chance of clearing himself from the charges which

have been brought against him. It is not to a Parliamentary inquiry that this man's chance of clearing himself is to be entrusted. Why should we not have a judicial inquiry, and why it that the Government are refusing to give this man a real investigation into the charges made against him. From what we have brought before us there is real reason to believe that not only has considerable misgovernment been going on in *Kashmir*, now and in previous reigns, but that there has been no reproof administered as to this misgovernment. The right hon. gentleman asks us are we going to stand in the way of justice being done in *Kashmir*, but is he going to stand in the way of justice being done to the *Maharaja*? If he asserts that he (the *Maharaja*) is innocent of the charges brought against him.

Sir JOHN GORST: There are no charges.

Sir W. PLOWDEN: Then if there are no charges why is he deposed? Evidently there must be some misconduct attributed to this man, in fact we know there is, because the whole defence put up by the Government is that he has been misconducting the government, and because he has been doing so he has been deposed. He says, "I have not misconducted the Government. I am not guilty, and I ask to have my case inquired into." If the hon. member for *Northampton* pressed his motion to a division I shall be bound to support him unless we get a clear assertion from the right hon. gentleman that he will send out instructions to the Government of *India* to form some judicial Commission which shall inquire into the charges alleged.

The House divided:

Ayes

88

Noes		226
Majority		138

The motion for the adjournment of the House was therefore lost.

DIVISION LIST

AYES

W. Abraham (Glamorgan), W. Abraham (Limerick), J. Austin, W.H.W. Ballantine, J. Barran, M.H. Beaufoy, A. Blane, T.D. Bolton (Derbyshire), Henry Campbell (Fermanagh), F.A. Channing, J.J. Clancy, DR. G.B. Clark (Caithnesshire), H.P. Cobb, W.J. Cobet (Wicklow), D. Crilly, J.J. Dallon, J. Dillon, L.L. Dilwyn, S. Evershed, J.C. Flynn, Dr. J.F. Fox, T. Fry (Darlington), E.T. Gourley, E. Harrington (Kerry), H. Harrison, L.P. Hayden, G. Howell, J.A. Jacob, J.S. Keay, D. Kilbride, D. Knatchbull-Hugessen (Rochdale), R. Lalor, Sir W. Lawson (Cumberland), J. Leahy (Kildare), R. Leake, T.P. Lewis, (Anglesey), W.A. Macdonald, J.G.S. MacNill, Dr. R. McDonald (Ross), J.R. Maguire, W. Mather, S. Montagu, A.C. Morton, J. Nolan (Louth), J.F.X. O'Brien (Mayo), P.J. O'Brien (Tipperary), W. O'Brien (Cork, N.E.), A. O'Connor (Donegal), J. O'Connor (Tipperary), J. O'Kelly, C.S. Parnell, J.W. Philipps, E.H. Pickersgill, Sir W.C. Plowden, T.P. Prince (Manmouthshire), D. Randell, W.H.K. Redmond (Fermanagh), Sir E.J. Reed (Cardiff), J. Roberts (flint Burghs), T. Robinson (Gloucester), T. Roe, J. Rowlands (Finsbury), W.B. Rowlands (Cardiganshire), J. Rowntree, C.E. Schwann, T. Sexton, T. Shaw (Halifax), J.D. Shaheen, F.F. Stevenson (Suffolk), J.C. Stevenson (S.

Shields), H. Stewart (Lincolnshire), J. Staurt (Shoreditch), D.Sullivan, (Westmeath), T.D. Sullivan (Dublin), A. Sutherland (Sutherlandshire), A. Thomas (Glamorgan E.), D.A. Thomas (Merthyr), J. Tuite, Captain E.H. Verney, S.D. Waddy, H. Wardel, A. Webb, J.S. Will, A. Williams (Glamorgan), S. Williamson (Kilmarnock), J. Wilson (Lanark), J. Woodhead, C. Wright)Lanc. S.W.), Tellers for the Ayes, Mr. Bradlaugh and Mr. Hunter.

NOES

W.G. Ainslie, J. Aird, Hon. P. Allsopp (Taunton), W. Ambrose, W.A.T. Amherst, H.T. Anstruther (St. Andrews), Colonel L. Anstruther (Suffolk), E. Ashmead, Barlett, H.H. Asquith, Sir G.S. Baden-Powell, J.G.A. Baird, Rt. Hon A.J. Balfour (Manchester), T.C. Baring (London), A. Barnes, A.H.S. Barry (Hunts), B.C.T. Bartley, Sir W.B. Barttelot, Sir E. Bates, A.A. Baumann, Rt. Hon. Sir M.H. Beach (Bristol), W.W.B. Beach (Hants.), E.W. Beckett (Yorks., N.R.), W. Beckett (Notts), W.G.C. Bentinck (Penryn), Commander Bethell, J. Bigwood, A. Birrell, Col. H.B.H. Blundell, G.H. Bond, T.W. Boord, Sir A. Borthwick, Col. Hon. F.C. Bridgeman, Hon. St. J. Brodrick, A.M. Brookfield, Sir W.C. Brooks, A.H. Brown (Salop), G. Bruce (Finsbury), Lord H. Bruce (Wiltshire). W. Burdett-Coutts, J. Caldwell, Sir G. Campbell (Kirkcaldy), Marquis of Carmarthen, Rt. Hon. J. Chamberlain (Birmingham), R. Chamberlain (Islington), Rt. Hon. H. Chaplin, Sir E. Clarke (Plymouth), D. H. Coghill, J. Collings, Sir J.C.R. Colomb, C.W.R. Cooke, J. Corbett (Worcestershire), F.S.W. Cornwallis, Sir J.P. Corry Col. E.T.D. Cotton, H.H. Cozens-Hardy, Viscount Cranborne, H.S. Cross (Bolton), Hon. W.H. Cross (Liver-pool), Sir S.B. Crossley (Suffolk),

General Sir W. Crossman, Rt. Hon. G. Cubitt, Hon. G.N. Curzon (Lanc., S.W.), H.J.C. Cust, M.T.S. Darling (Edinburgh), H.T. Davenport (Staffordshire), E.F.D. Dixon-Hartland, R.S. Donkin, Sir J.E. Dorington, R.W. Duff, J.S. Dugdale, Rt. Hon. Sir W.H. Dyke, T.C. Edwards-Moss, Hon. Art. R.D. Elliot (Roxburghs), G.W. Elliot (Yorks N.R.), P. Esslemont, Sir A.O. Ewing, Col. H. Eyre, Lieut.-Gen. Feilden (Lane.N.), A.E. Fellowes R.C.M. Ferguson (Leith), Rt. Hon. Sir J. Fergusson (Manchester), Admiral Field, G.H. Finch, W.H. Fisher, Sir F. Fitz-Wygram, Sir H. Fletcher, C. Flower, A.B. Foewood, Sir R.N. Fowler (London), Gen.C.C. Fraser, L. Fry (Bristol), S.Gedge, J.S. Gillant, Major Gen. Goldsworthy, Rt. Hon. Sir J.E. Gorst, Rt. Hon. G.J. Goschen, G.G.L. Gower, Sir E. Green (Wakefield), E. Greene (Suffolk), Viscount Grimston, F.B. Grotrain, R.B. Heldane, Rt. Hon. Lord G.Hamilton (Middlesex), Gen. Sir E.B. Hamley, R.W. Hanbury, E. Hardcastle (Salford), Sir E.J. Harland, Marquis of Hartington. A.R. Health, Rt. Hon. E. Heneage, Hon. S. Herbert, Lord F. Hervey, Lord A.W. Hill (Down), Col. E.S. Hill (Bristol), E.B. Hoare (Hampstead), Sir W.H. Houldsworth, J.H.C. Hozier, F.S. Hunt, Sir G. Hunter (Hackney), Rt. Hon. W.L. Jackson, Sir R. Jardine, A.W. Jarvis, A.F. Jeffreys, L.J. Jennings, W. Johnston, Rt. Hon. Sir U. Kay-Shuttleworth, Sir J.H. Kennaway, W. Kenrick, Hon. G.T. Kenyon, Col. W. Kenyon-Slaney, H. Kimber, Sir J.G.S. Kinloch, H. Knatchbull-Hugessen (Kent), L. Knowles, A. Lafone, W.F. Lawrence (Liverpool), E. Lees, T.W. Legh (Lane.), Lord W.C.G. Lennox, Sir R. Lethbridge, Viscount Lewisham, E.H. Llewellyn, G.W.E. Loder, W.H. Long, J.W. Lowther (Cumberland), Hon. W. Lowther (Westmoreland), L. Lyell, W.G.E. Macratney, C.F. Mackintosh, F.W. Maclean (Oxfordsh.), J.M. Maclean

(Oldham), J.W. Maclure, Captain J. M'Calmont, D.H. Madden, W.F. Maethland, Col. J.W. Malcdom, RRt. Hon. E. Marrjoribanks, M.H. Story-Maskelyne, Rt. Hon. H. Matthews, Sir H.E. Maxwell, A.R.C. Mayne, F.B. Mildmay, T. Milvain, R.J. more, Hon. F. Morgan (Monmouthshire, Rt. Hon. G.O. Morgan (Denbighshire), W. Morrison, W.G. Mount, R.G.C. Mowbray (Lane. S.E., P.A. Muhtz, Viscount Newark, Hon R.T. O'Neill, Sir R.H. Paget, Hon. F. Parker (Oxfords.), Sir L. Pelly, Captain F.T. Penton, Rt. Hon. D.R. Plunket, W.C. Quilter, J. Rankin, Major F.C. Rasch, H.B. Reed (Bradford), T. Richardson, Rt. Hon. C.T. Ritchie, J.B. Roberts (Eifion), Rt. Hon. J.P.B. Robertson (Bute), Baron F.J. de Rothschild, J. Round, T.B. Royden, T. Salt, G.B. Samuelson (Gloucester), Col. E.J. Saunderson, Captain C.W. Selwyn, M.H. Shaw-Stewart (Renfrew), J.W. Sidebotham (Cheshire), T.H. Sidebottom (Stalybridge), W. Sidebottom (Derbyshire), W.P. Sinclair, J.P. Smith (Lanarksh.), Rt. Hon. W.H. Smith (Strand), J. Somevell, Rt. Hon.E. Standhope (Lincolnsh.), E.J. Stanley, M. Stewart (Kirkeubrightsh.), T. Sutheland (Greenock), J.G. Talbot, T.K. Tapling, G. Taylor, Sir R. Temple, J.Theobald, W. THorburn, W.E.M. Tomlinson, F. Townsend, Sir H.W. Tyler, Hon. A.H.J. Walsh, Sir R.E. Webster (Isle of Wight), W.C. West, Viscount Woler, N. Wood, H.S. Wright (Nottingham). Tellerw for the Noes, Mr. Akers-Doughlas and Sir William Walrond.

KASHMIR AND KHIVA

The history of the *Russian* annexation and absorption of *Khiva* is one of dissimulation and disgrace, and may be told in few words. On the 8th of January, 1873, Earl Granville, wrote to *Lord A. Lortus*, the English Ambassador at *St. Petersburg*, with reference to the then contemplated *Russian* expedition against *Khiva*, that he had a personal interview with Count Schouvalow, by special request of the *Czar*, who had punish certain acts of brigandage by the *Khan's* subjects. 'Not only,' writes *Lord Granville*, 'was it far from the intention of the Emperor to take possession of *Khiva*, but positive orders had been prepared to prevent it. He gave me, 'he adds, 'the most decided assurance that I might give positive assurances to Parliament on this matter.' The dispatch goes on to State, that *Lord Northbrook*, then Viceroy of *India* had "given the strongest advice to the *Khan* to comply with the reasonable demands of the Emperor, and if the expedition were undertaken with the object and within the limits described by Count Schouvalow, it would meet with no remonstrance from Her Majesty's Government.' Unfortunate *Khan* of *Khiva*, with *Russia* lusting for annexation, and Great Britain (of all Powers!) counselling submission! The result is a matter of history. The *Russian* troops had a 'walk over' into *Khiva*, and the Treaty which General Kauffman dictated, literally at the point of the sword, today gives the lie to Council Schouvalow's pacific assurance.

The Treaty commences in this wise: 'The whole of the right bank of the Amou Darya and the lands adjoining thereunto, which have hitherto been considered as belonging to *Khiva*, shall pass over from the *Khan* into the possession of *Russia*, together with the people dwelling

and camping thereon, etc. In the examination of claims between *Russians* and *Khivans*, preference shall be given to *Russians*. Complaints and claims of *Khivans* against *Russian* subjects shall be referred to the nearest *Russian* Authorities. A fine is inflicted on the *Khanate* of *Khiva* of two million two hundred thousand roubles (about 300,000) in order to cover the expenses incurred by the *Russian* Exchequer in the prosecution of the late war which was provoked (??) by the Government of the *Khan*. Und so weiter. And thus, poor *Khiva* has been *Russianised*, at the expense of the blood and wealth of the Children of her soil, while *Russia* has consequently crept up to within a hundred miles or so nearer of her sole perspective aim and design—the Frontier of *British India*. All the while, Great Britain, the Power and interested, has according to the dispatch of her Foreign Minister, 'offered no opposition' to this wholesale spoliation of one of the outlying bulwarks of defence against Muscovite aggression. On the contrary, she seems rather to admire *Russian* diplomacy, with its misleading tactics, its false assurances, and its questionable modes of territorial acquisition, and has tried her hand too, a la Russe, that is to say employing the same weapons, in the absorption of *Kashmir*,—the *British Khiva*.

Consider we now for a while the *modus operandi* employed to anglicanise poor *Kashmir*, and the intelligent reader cannot fail to be struck with the similarity of the means used by the *Russians* in *Khiva* and the English in *Kashmir*, and can also draw his own conclusions from the political parallel. Imprimis,—of course it was necessary to throw dust in the eyes of our interested neighbours and especially essential was it that *England* would blind, or try to blind, *Russia* as to her real intentions regarding *Kashmir*. Hence, we find both *Lord Cross* and *Sir*

John Gorst repeatedly and, it appeared to many, unnecessarily, giving the most emphatic explanatory assurances of *England's* non-intervention,—assurances every whit as unmistakable as those given by the Czar of *Russia* regarding *Khiva*. *England*, we were informed, has not now, nor has she at any time ever had the slightest intention of 'annexing' *Kashmir*. True, the *British* *Sxhouvalow* did not define his interpretation of the word 'annexing' and herein lies the key of the whole matter.

England might have sought a quarrel with *Kashmir*, invaded and conquered that country, and then 'squeezed' a war indemnity out of her, thus following the precedent of *Russia* in *Khiva*. But, thought *John Bull* submitted quietly to the *Khivan* aggression which permitted his foes (to use a *Russian* expression) 'to sit down' almost at his very door, he knew full well, that *Russia* would make a very positive and practical 'remonstrance' against the actual annexation of *Kashmir* by *England*. Hence, quite a different line of policy had to be observed. After having satisfied the world at large by repeated and plausible assurances that her intentions towards *Kashmir* were strictly honourable and purely philanthropic, *England* proceeds, to lay that country at her feet by moral, not military, pressure. First, the Ruler is deposed for no reason except that he was in the way of the Scheme. Then, Rulers, in the shape of a Council, are appointed by *England*, being controlled and directed by an English Resident. Then, *Kashmir* is compelled to make a costly military road from the *British* frontier to her capital. Then, the control of the *Kashmir* army obtained, and the troops are placed under *British* officers, while a military colony, under the guise of post of observation, is established at *Gilgit*. And, lastly, *Kashmir* is made bankrupt by forced expenditure and a

forced loan, and to-day, as we said before, lies as much at the mercy and under the dominion of *England* as though she had been formerly and officially annexed by that ever-absorbing power. When comparing the *Russian* and English methods of extending their frontier by annexation, the balance to the credit of *England* lies solely in the fact of non-invasion and consequent saving of bloodshed. The violated assurances, the deprivation of power, the transfer to *British* rule the pecuniary requisitions, all remain the same, and, as surely and certainly as the Agent of the Czar of all the *Russians* rules and controls the destinies of subjugated *Khiva*, so surely and certainly does the Agents of the Queen-Empress of *India* rule and control those of the no less subjugated *Kashmir*.

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THE ALLEGED REAL OF THE DEPOSITION OF THE MAHARAJA

(*Indian Union, Allahabad, June 19.*)

THE Foreign Office confidential Memo on *Gilgit*, published by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, created a sensation that is far from dead yet. In the controversy that caused the Editor by no means came off second best, for the honours of war remained with him decidedly. In fact, the dealings of the *Indian* Government with *Kashmir* can only be explained on the basis of the *Gilgit* memorandum. In the March and April numbers of the *Fort* nightly Review, an article contributed by *Sir Charles Dilke* rather tends to establish the *Gilgit* memorandum on a yet firmer

basis. It seems to show that, as early as the autumn of 1888, the practical deposition deposition of the *Maharaja* and the annexation of *Kashmir* had been secretly resolved on at Simla. It must be borne in mind that the cock and bull story of the *Jammu* forgeries did not originate till the spring of 1889. *Sir Charles Dilke* landed in Kurrachee in November, 1888, as the honoured guest of *Sir Frederick Roberts*. January, 1889, saw his return home again. *Sir Charles Dilke* was sorely wanted to popularize among the public of *England* the *Indian Scientific Frontier Defence* expenditure. To this end all the secrets of the Military and Foreign Offices were laid bare to him. At page 474 we find *Sir Charles Dilke* writing:- The armies of the Native States are being dealt with by the provision of *British* Inspection, and a beginning has been made in the *Punjab*. It will be possible to make of the army of *Kashmir* a very useful force for watching the passes on the *Kashmir*, side, to the great relief of our field army; but I continue to retain the view with which I went to *India*, that the armies of the great southern feudatory States should be disbanded as such, that, is, reduced merely to police guards.' At page 480 *Sir Charles Dilke* again writes:- 'No large *Russian* army can venture across the mountains of *Chitral* or descend upon *Kabul* from *Balkh* by the *Hindukush*. *Sir Charles MacGregor*, who was there writing of what he knew, has proved this to demonstration, although he did not make the allowance that all would who know *Russia*, for the use of sledges over the passes in winter time. That the attempt would be made by a small force in case of war is certain. Steps have now been taken to stop any such force descending upon the plains of *India* without drawing upon our main field army. *Colonel Maurice* seems to think that a *Russian* descent from the North might take us in the flank:

a small force no doubt might pass by *Gilgit* towards *Kashmir*, a small force by *Chirtal* towards Jellalabad, and a small force by *Balkh* to *Kabul*; but until—should this unhappily come about—the *Russians* have been long at *Balkh*, no very serious danger is to be apprehended in this direction. 'Sir Charles Dilke is here slightly disingenuous, to say the least, for Colonel Lockhardt's mission to *Chirtal* and recent researches have demonstrated that the *Hindukush* Range is simply honeycombed with easy passes, and the belief now at Simla is that no *Russian* invasion of *India* will be attempted by the *Chandahar* route. These extracts show that Sir Charles Dilke was informed in 1888 of what was intended to be done in *Kashmir* the following year, 1889, when Colonel Nisbet was sent up to force the situation as an agent provocateur

CHAPTER XXI

KASHMIR MISGOVERNMENT

“Three fourth of *India* is directly under the slavery of the *British* and one-fourth is indirectly under them. *Kashmir* forms part of this unlucky region, in which ten crore people lead a life of slaves. We the forty lakh people of the *State* are suffering under the yoke of the *Dogra* Rule.

Sheikh Abdullah-1946

In 1841 A.D. *Gulab Singh* of *Dogra* family of *Jammu* intrigued with the *British* to bring about the liquidation of the *Sikh* Kingdom of the *Punjab*. This conspiracy matured in February, 1845, when he wrote to the Governor Genrel, entreating him not to lose time and set in motion the *British* army for chastising the *Sikhs*. In November, 1845, the Anglo-*Sikh* war broke out, and the *British* won the victory through the treachery of *Gulab Singh Dogra* and other stooges. The treaty of *Lahore*, dated the 9th of March, 1846 made an end of the *Sikh* Kingdom of the *Punjab*. In order to compensate *Gulab Singh Dogra* for bringing about the downfall of the *Sikhs*, the *British* entered into a Sale Deed with him. They sold the valley of *Kashmir* to *Gulab Dogra* for \$1500,000 without ascertaining the views of the *Kashmiris*. This shameful transaction was made by the *British* in a highly immoral way. Thus, a petty *Raja* of *Jammu* became the *Maharaja* of *Jammu*, *Kashmir*, *Ladakh* and *Tibet*, as a result of the service rendered by him to the *British*.

Introduction:

Owing to that peculiar arrangement between the Government of *India* and the *Maharaja* by which the *Europeans* are escluded from the domination of the latter during the winter months, and also to the well-grounded fear of the *Maharaja's* subject to speak of the oppressive system ynder which they live. I feel confident that most of the following information, which I have, not without difficulty collected, will be new, alike to those who have travelled in *Kashmir*, and to those knowledge is only derived from newspapers and the talk of society.

In order that the wretched condition of the people do not bemome public, the *Maharaja* did not like to have *European* visitors in *Kashmir*. As such, such visitors wee allowed during summer only and that too in a limited number.

I an therefore inclined to believe that the communication I have to make regarding a country for whose welfare, as I shall endeavour to show, we are responsible, will be of interest, first to those who wish that the Government they serve or libe, under, should act with less regard to the expediency of the moment than in such a manner as shall procure for it the character of a highminded, and unselfish, and a just power.

Second, to those who can feel pity for the undeserved sufferings of men, and disgust and indignation at the spectale of a people whose characteristics, both intellectual and moral, give evidence of former greatness, trampled upon by a race in every way inferior to themselves, and steadily deteriorating under the influence of an oppressive despotism which bars the way to all improvement, whether social, intellectual, or religious.

Third, to those who, from their position, share in the responsibility, which in my opinion, attaches to the Government of *India* regarding the people whom it sold into the slavery of *Gulab Singh Dogra*.¹

With further premise or apology, I shall therefore begin by laying before the reader a detailed account of the oppression of the people by the Government of *Maharaja*.

The then *British* Government in *India*, sold *Kashmir*, which did not belong to it, against the wish of the people to the *Dogra Raja* of *Jammu*. As such, the action of the alien Government was selfish, greedy and unjust.

LAND PRODUCE TAXATION :

Of almost everything produced by the soil, Govt. takes a large proportion and the numerous officials who are employed in collection are paid by an award of so much grain from the share of the *zamindars*.¹

The following is a list of the different officials who are concerned in the collection and division of the land produce, & in the general government of the country outside the city of *Srinagar*, which is under the Government of *Kashmir* and the Chief Magistrate.

The principal of these are:

Tehsildar : He has under him from, two to five Territorial sub-divisions and he exercises a supervision over the accounts of the *Kashmirs* within his district. He has power of punishment up to a fortnight in disputes, and offences occurring within his tehsil are referred to him and he has from 200 to 400 sepoy's under him, and is

responsible only to the *Diwan* or Governor of *Kashmir*, who resides in the city.

Thanadar : He is the Chief Officer over each territorial sub-division; he has slighter powers of punishment and from 40 to 50 sepoy under him. His chief duties are to make inspections through out his *paraganah* and to make reports concerning the crops and general matters to his *Tehsildar*.

Kardar : He is the chief of the officials who are personally concerned in the collection of the land produces. He has under him a certain number of villages, or whose crops he has to keep a strict accounts, and to each of which he goes in person at the time when the different crops ripen. In order to supreintendent the different distribution of each he reports to his Thanadar, and causes the government shares of the crops to be despatched to the city, or elsewhere, according to the orders he may receive. In lieu of some of the inferior kinds of grain the Government will occasionally take an equivalent in money from the *Kardar* takes from them, the full amount of produce, and sells the amount, for which the Govt. have taken money, to his own advantages. Since this arrangement is greatly preferred by the *Kardars*, there must be a large demand for these grains among the people. In order to make their own profits they are, of course obliged to sell them, a scale of which I shall give in the sequel.

1. "*Gulab Singh* went beyond his predecessors in the gentle acts of undue taxation and extortion. They had taxed heavily it is true, but he sucked the very life blood of the people. They had laid violent hands on a large proportion of the fruits of the earth, the profits of the loom and the work of men's hands, but he skinned the very flints to fill his coffers."

Agents of repression :

Over each village there are a number of agents and these are mentioned below :

Moquddum :- His duty is to report any irregularities or thefts to collect coolies and carriage for Government or others and to keep an account of the crops of his village, in conjunction with another official called *Patwari*.

Patwari : His special duty is to keep a separate account with each house of the cultivator of his village of the different crops belonging to it. To each village there is a *patwari*; he is paid by the *zamindars*, and is a necessary expense entailed on the *zamindars* by the mode of collecting their tax. He is usually a *Pandit*.

Shakdar: There are from one to four *Shakdars* in each village, according to its size. Their duties are to watch the crops while in the ground, and the Governments share of the same, after they have been set aside and are waiting their removal to the Governments store-houses. It is said to be a common instance of oppression for the *Shakdar* to extort money from the *zamindars* by threatening to accuse him of stealing the Government grain;

It is, I suppose, known that the tillers of land of *Kashmir* are *Muslims* as are also the inhabitants of the Cities, with the exception of a few *Pandits* and other officials of Government. The *Pandits* are a *Hindu* minority which holds nearly all in Government Services.

in which case, rather than court an investigation whose justice he has every reason to doubt, the *zamindar* is fain to purchase the silence of his oppressor according to ability. The *Shakdar* is also paid by the *zamindars*, and is supplied by them with rations gratis.

Sargoal: He is the official who is over the *Shakdars*. There is one Sargoal to about every ten villages.

His duties are to inspect the *Shakadars* and report to his *Kardar*. It is said that he commonly extorts money from the *Shakdar*, in the same way as we have seen that the *Shakdars* retaliate on the *zamindar*. None of these who are thus oppressed ever seem to contemplate such a step as that of complaining to the *Thanedar* of their *parganah*, or the *Tehsildar* of the receive complaints, is held. All the officers, mentioned above are of course, *Hindus*.

The Sargoal is frequently a *Pandit*, and is paid by the *zamindars*, as is also the *Tarakardar*.

Tarakardar: His duty is to weigh the grain when the portion of Government is taken from the *Zamindars*. He is always in attendance upon the *Kardar*.

Harkara: He is a police constable. There is one Harkara house to about every twenty villages. All the male members of his family being also Harkaras. He receives report from, and gives direction to the *Dooms*.

The *Doom*, or policeman, of which there is one to every village, the inhabitants of which are obliged to supply him with rations.¹

Such is the 'small' official family which the *Kashmiri* *zamindar*, or the tiller of land, has to support, the greater part of whom are rendered necessary by the complicated system which a collection of land produce entails. According to the custom of the country, the land

owned by any one house is common. The *Patwari* of the villages has therefore to keep an account of the amount of grain produced by each different kind of crop belonging to each separate house and to calculate the amount due to Government according to the scale which I shall now proceed to give.

Share of the Government.

There are two kinds of crops in *Kashmir* known as the *Rabi* and the *Kharif*. The first of these consists of those which ripen about July, and the second of those whose harvest time is about 2 months later. Of the *Kharif*, all the crops except the rice are second crops, i.e. are produced from land which has already yielded a crop. The rice ground alone produced nothing but which is sown in May and reaped in September. The Government scale of weights used in collecting their proportions of grain is as follows:-

6 seers = 1 trak

16 traks = 1 *Kharwar*

The *Kashmiris* pound their shalee in a stone vessel known as *Kanz*. In order to see that no one in a village is allowed to pound his paddy, this stone pot was filled with wet mud and sealed. This seal was to be kept intact, until the share of all the above mentioned officials as well as the share of the *Maharaja* was not obtained from the agriculturists.

The extra trak thus gained by the Government in each *Kharwar* is in order to liquidate the expense of carrying the grain from the village to the city, which, considering the easy rate at which carriage is paid for by the Government, it must amply do.

The amount taken by the Government and the Government officials upon the *Rabi* and *Kharif* crops is as follows:

Out of every 32 Traks of each grain of the *Rabi* crop, the following amounts are taken from the *zamindars*:

Government share	Traks	Seers
The Sargoal	20	0
The Shakadar	0	1 1/2
The <i>Tarakardar</i>	0	1
The Harkara	0	3/4
The <i>Patwari</i>	0	1 1/2
Servants of the <i>Kardar</i>	0	1/2
Total taken in kind out of every	_____	_____

32 *traks* of each grain of the *Rabi* crop. 20 6 1/2

THE USERPER:

For the first time in the long history of *Kashmir*, the *Dogra Maharaja* deprived the *Kashmiris* from the propriety right of lands belonging to them. The *Maharaja* declared that as he had purchased the valley of *Kashmir* for Rs. 75,000,00 he was the sole-owner of all lands, forests, mountains, etc. in the valley, and the tillers of lands, agriculturists, and *zamindars* were only tenants-at-will.

The *Rabi* crop consists of the undermentioned grains, and the sums annexed to each are a money tax levied on every 32 *traks* of each grain of the

Rabi crop, in addition to the tax in kind which I have just detailed:

A *Chilkee* anna is equal to about a Company's anna.

<i>annas</i>	Kumuck (a kind of wheat)	3-	<i>Chilkee</i>
	<i>Uiska</i> (barley)	1-	" "
	Kurrer (peas)	1-	" "
	Tilogogolo (a grain from which it is made)	3-	" "
	Kuttan -do-	3-	" "
	Marhat from which dal is made	3-	" "
	<i>Mong</i>	3-	" "
	Masoor -do-	1-	" "
	Krotur (a grain used for cattle, & also by the poorer classes of people for food)	1-	" "
"	Total taken in money upon every 192		
<i>traks</i>	of the <i>Rabi</i> crop		22- <i>Chilkee</i>
<i>annas</i>			

Out of every 32 trak of each grain of the *Kharif* crops, the following amount are taken from the *Zamindars*:-

	Traks	Seers
Government share		
Mandir or temple tax	21	2
Julles-us-gowi (said to be for the use of the <i>Maharaja</i> 's guests)	0	2

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The <i>Patwari</i>	0	1-
The Karkari	0	1-
The <i>Shakdar</i>	0	1-
The Sargoal	0	1-
Servants of the <i>Kardar</i>	0	1-
The Tarkardar	0	3/4
Total taken in kind		
out of every		
32 <i>traks</i> of each grain		
of the crop.	21	11 3/4

The *Kharif* crop consists of the following grains, and the sums annexed to each of a money tax levied on every 32 *traks* of each grain of the *Kharif* a crop, in addition to the tax in kind which I have just detailed:-

Chilkee anna is equal to about Company's anna.

<i>Shalee</i> (rice in the husks)	2 3/4	<i>Chilkee</i>	Anna
<i>Mukki</i> (<i>Indian Corn</i>)	2 3/4	„	„
Trembu (a grain used extensively for food by the <i>Zamindars</i>)	2 3/4	„	„
Shawal (grains used for food by the people	2 3/4	„	„
Kupas (flax)	4	„	„

Total taken in money out of every

142 *traks* of the kharif crop. _____

7 3/4 *Chilkee* Anna

Fredric Drew, who is partial to the *Dogras*, for he was in the service of the *Maharaja*, writes as under:

He knew how to govern a country in the sense of making his authority respected all through it. For the carrying out of the further objects of good government he probably cared little. One of his chief faults was an unscrupulous as the means of attaining his own objects. He did not draw back from the exercise of cruelty in the pursuit of them, but he was not wantonly cruel. An avariciousness always distinguished him; in the indulgence of the passion he was unable to take the wide view by which his subjects' wealth would be found compatible with the increase of his own."

The above is a mild narration of the ways in which, the *Maharaja* sucked the blood of the people. From the day he entered the valley of *Kashmir*, he and his officers let loose on the people to snatch from them whatever they could. Save air, everything was taxed in *Kashmir*. As the *Maharaja* wanted to fill in his coffers, he

gave full liberty to his officials to extort money as best as they could. Owing to the forced labour, known as *Begar*, the villages as well as workers found their way towards the *Punjab*. In their fleeing marches, most of the poor people died on the mountain passes.

OTHER TAXES:

In addition to these money taxes upon the different grain of the *Rabi* and *Kharif* crops, there is also a tax called *Pussudart*, which is levied annually upon each house throughout the villages, of from 4 *annas* to 20 *annas*, according to the number of inmates.

Fruit tax: Of the more valuable kinds of fruits such as walnuts, apples, pears, apricots, almonds and quinces, three-fourths of the annual produce are taken by the Government. The duty of preserving them for this purpose falls upon the *Sargoal* and his *Shakdars*. The above proportion is collected to the orders of Government.

Animal tax: From every village or villages whose land produces 500 *kharwars* of grain, two or three of sheep or goat are taken annually, and half their value returned in coin to the *zamindars*.

Ponies: One pony is taken every year under the same conditions, half of his value being returned to the *zamindars*.

Puttee : One woollen blanket is taken annually under similar conditions, half of its value is returned.

Ghee : For each milk cow half a seer of ghee annually is taken.

Fowls : From one to ten fowls yearly from each house, according to the number of inmates.

Honey : In the honey districts, as the *Lidar* and *Wurdwan* valleys, two-third of the produce are taken yearly by the *Kardar* and others;

The accounts of all these taxes are kept by the *Patwari* and *Moquddum* and the distribution of returned money is made by them.

Taxes whether authorised or unauthorised were exacted from the poor agriculturists both in *Kashmir* as well as in *Jammu*. However in the valley, the work was entrusted to *Pandits*, while in *Jammu*, the *Rajputs* were given the responsibilities of the Land-Lords. While in the valley, the sufferers were the *Muslims*, in the *Jammu* region, the schedule-caste, the *Lubana Sikhs*, and the *Jatts* suffered.

Curruption and Remedies :

The above are the taxes levied upon the *zamindars* of *Kashmir* i.e. upon the population of the country, exclusive of those who live in the large towns, such as *Srinagar*, *Islamabad*, *Sopore* and *Pampure*. It should be borne in mind that all those taxes, including the amounts both in money and in kind, taken upon the *Rabi* and *Kharif* crops, are the regularly authorised Government taxes, and not exactions made by officials. It is highly probable that exactions are made in excess of the legal amounts herein laid down, but of this it is not possible to speak with perfect certainty. Of the evils of the above system, independently of the enormous percentage of produce taken by the Government, it is not necessary to say much, since they are tolerably apparant.

For instance, if a *zamindar* wishes to complain that he has been mulcted of a large proportion of grain or money than he ought to have paid in accordance with the above complicated scale, he goes to the *Thanedar*

of his *paraganah*, who makes enquiries, and sends for the *Kardar* and *Patwari*. If the man's complaint is just, and if the *Thanedar* has not been bribed by the *Kardar*, he gets redress on payment of a rupee or two, besides the loss of his time. If the *Thanedar* has been bribed, the *Zamindar* can appeal to the higher tribunal of the *Tehsildar*, but here again there is the risk of his being forestalled by the united bribes of both *Kardar* and *Thanedar*, so that usually the *Zamindar* finds it a wiser course to pocket his money in silence.

The Chief way, however, in which the evils of the system are felt throught the country, is in the prevention of all trade and barter between the people of the towns and the people of the villages. The latter, except a few *shawl-bafs* who may be located in some of the villages, are all *Zamindars*, the former are chiefly shopkeepers, *shawl* merchants, *Karkandar*, *shawl bafs*, *sada bafs*, boatmen, and artisans of all description.

The population of the *Jammu* region, to which *Gulab Singh Dogra* belonged consisted of the upper classes, namely the *Rajputs* and the majority of the down-trodden people, such as the *Jats*, *Lubana Sikhs*, *Harijans*, and other low-caste tribes, while the *Rajputs*, served as mercenaries of the *Maharaja*, their lands were tilled by the above mentioned classes, who suffered under the feudal system. As such, it is clear that there existed wholesale misery in the dominion of the first *Dogra Maharaja*.

Permission to Purchase Food :

Thus, the people of the towns and the people of the country constitute two large classes, with different wants; the former require the things that the *Zamindar* possesses rice, cora, fowls, sheep, milk and which the city people would willingly give him for his produce; and the

latter requires money, to buy these comforts and luxuries which the city can supply, chiefly imported articles as spices, cotton cloth. But this natural system of exchange is entirely prohibited by the above arrangement; so that, as I have been informed by the best *British* authority, there were people in *Srinagar*, some two or three years ago, with money in their pockets, in a state of semi-starvation. The *Zamindars* had, of course no surplus supplies to sell them, and the Government grain store-houses were shut for the time.

In fact, it is only very recently that regulations have been made whereby the people are permitted to buy as much grain as they require from the Govt. and for this poor boon they are exceedingly thankful.

At some of their spring fairs this year, I was struck with the increased number of people as compared with the year before, and, on enquiry, was told that this year they have been allowed to buy food enough to eat and are consequently able to come out and enjoy themselves a little. Such is the boon which a paternal Government has recently accorded to the *Kashmiri's*—permission to buy their own rice at a very exorbitant rate. The poor wretches, so accustomed are they to oppression and misuse of all kinds, that they look upon this as a concession deserving of the utmost gratitude.

It has been truly said that the present system of land produce taxation is no new one introduced by the present *Dogra* dynasty, but had its origin at some remote period. There is, however, an important point of difference, which to the people makes all the difference between mild system and an oppressive one, and this is in the prices of the grain sold by the Government.

The *kota* is the Government store-house, from where grain is sold to the people at prices which I shall give a list of in the sequel. Until very recently it was the custom to close these *kotas* from time to time and never to sell rice but in very small quantities.

The above would show that the Government controlled the sale of rice and thus it can starve people. In fact it is up to the Government, to fix the amount of rations for each *Kashmiri* and at the same time to fix the sale price of foodstuffs.

Everyone has to eat something and if the monopoly is in the hands of the *Maharaja*, the people are at his mercy.

Now, when *Gulab Singh Dogra* began his iniquitous reign, he found the system pretty much the same as I have described, with certain important exceptions, and the prices of the grain thus collected in the Government store-houses were as follows :-

A *Hari Singh*-rupee is equal to 8 *annas*.

<i>Shallee</i> (unground rice)	1	H.S. rupee per
<i>Kharwar</i>		
<i>Uiska</i> (barley)	1	-do- -
do-		
<i>Mukki</i> (Indian corn)	1	-do- do-
Oil	1	-do- -do-

and the remainder in proportion.

When the change in the coinage was made by *Gulab Singh* of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter he also raised the prices of everything sold by the Government to a rate higher than the present one to which they are lowered on the occasion of the present *Maharaja*. The prices at the present time are as under :-

A *Chilkee* rupee is equal to 10 *annas*

<i>Shalee</i>	2	Ch.	RS.	per	<i>Khawar</i>
<i>Uiska</i>	2	"	"	"	"
<i>Kunuck</i>	2	"	"	"	"
<i>Mukki</i>	5	"	"	"	"
<i>Muttur</i> (peas)	2	"	"	"	"
<i>Mong</i> (from which dal is made)	7	"	"	"	"
<i>Mohar</i>	7	"	"	"	"
<i>Mosor</i>	4	"	"	"	"
<i>Krotur</i>	2	"	"	"	"
<i>Kuttum</i> (from which oil is made)	6	"	"	"	"
<i>Mout</i> (a grain used chiefly for cattle)	2	"	"	"	"
<i>Tilgogolo</i> (from which oil is made)	8	"	"	"	"
<i>Tromba</i> (for food)	2	"	"	"	"
<i>Pingi</i> (Grains used for food by the <i>Showul</i> people)	2	"	"	"	"
<i>Kupas</i> (flax)	16	"	"	"	"

These prices, it will be seen are more than double from these, for which the same things were sold, when *Gulab Singh* got the country. And, moreover, it can scarcely be pleaded on behalf of a bad system, that it has been a long time in operation.

The Government store-houses are both store-houses for the grain and also the places where it is sold to the people in small quantities.

Anyone in want of a large amount must go to the officer-in-charge of the store-house who give them an order upon some one of the *Kardars*, for which the

officer takes the payment and places it to the credit of the *Kardar* in his accounts.

Gulab Singh As Trader

It is a strange coincidence that basically, the then *British Government in India* was a trading company, which sold *Kashmir* to *Gulab Singh Dogra of Jammu*. He in turn tried to get more & more money from the people of *Kashmir*. At the same time, he also followed the example of his masters, by resorting to the sale of food-stuffs, and as such assumed the role of a trader. It is to be remembered that the official *Kharwar*, when sold to the people, it is only 15 *traks*, instead of 16 *traks*.

The Chief points, then, with regards to this system of taxation are :-

(a) The prevention of that traffic, and consequent intercourse and union between the city and the country people which are manifestly essential to their comfort and well-being.

(b) The comparative poverty which it produces among the *zamindars*, and the actual want and misery which it helps to produce among the *shawl* and *Sada-bafs*, of whom I shall speak thereafter.

(c) The opportunities afforded to Government and Government officials, of creating temporary famines by closing the Government grain Store-house and thus raising the prices of grains.

(d) The countless opportunities for chicanery and oppression which it sffores to the numerous local officers employed in carrying out its most complicated arrangements.

In consequence of the want of intercourse and traffic between the city and country people which this

system produces, there has grown up a feeling of distrust and jealousy between them, most detrimental, of course to the happiness and well-being of the community, but which it is probable that a mean and selfish government like that of *Jammu* would rather foster than diminish.

By way of final comment upon this extraordinary system, I shall translate a sort of fable commonly known throughout *Kashmir*, which they have either invented, or perhaps adopted from the *Persian*, as emblematical of the condition of their country, and the peculiar system of its government.

Story Of Oppression :

Once upon a time there was a very great nobleman. He was a *Pathan*, who lived in the mountain to the north west of *Kashmir* and his name was *Mas Deen Khan*. One day he went upon a journey to *Srinagar*, in *Kashmir*, in order to pay his respects to the king of the country.

It happened that on that occasion he rode a horse for which he had a very great regard. He was indeed so fond of his horse, that he used to call himself "the father of the animal."

When *Mas Deen Khan* got half-way to the palace of the king, he be-thought himself that perhaps his servant might ill-treat his horse, he therefore sent another of his attendants with orders to overtake them, and ascertain whether the beloved animal was well cared for. The menial departed, and found the first servant riding the horse; he thought, "it is better for me to ride at my ease than to quarrel with this servant, who may perhaps afterwards falsely accuse me to my master; so he too mounted.

Now when *Mas Deen Khan* got very near the palace of the king, he again, bethought himself that

perhaps it would be better to send a still more trustworthy servant to be a check upon the conduct of the others with regard to his horse. But when the third servant overtook the party, and found his two predecessors riding, he also mounted, and the horse, which could have carried one, became so exhausted under the weight of three, that, on reaching his stable, he died.

The application of the story is obvious enough, and is a good illustration of the natural wit of the *Kashmiris*. It is particularly applicable at the present time, since the *Maharaja* himself is said to be in ignorance of large part of the oppression of his Government and of the injustice of his irresponsible officials.¹

As regards the oppression of the officials of the *Maharaja* is concerned many an eye-witnesses have written about it. Here is a statements from one of them :

The *Kashmiris* are intelligent, full of valour, free from bad habits, alert at the time of danger, and possess qualities of character. Then what are the reasons for the backwardness of the people, and who is responsible for their miserable condition? The Government can not escape from this responsibility of the miseries of his subjects. Is it not a fact that for all these miseries, his officials are responsible and it appears that nearly all of them are non-*Muslims*. It is for this very reason that the *Maharaja* does not hear about the feelings of the *Muslims*.²

Antipathy of the *Maharaja*

Nevertheless, such ignorance is equivalent to guilt and the desire for the happiness of his subjects, if such a feeling be known to the *Maharajah*, must be feeble and worthless indeed, since it cannot even rouse him to

ascertain for himself the condition of the people from whom he derives his wealth, and for whose well or ill-being he is responsible.

By going to *Kashmir* I felt solace and sorrow at the same time. In *Kashmir*, you find heaven and hell just near each other. While the land is famous for its natural beauty, the poverty and misery of its people is a disgrace to humanity. When we see the down trodden, poor, weak, ailing, and hunger stricken people of *Kashmir* in rags and dirty clothes, feelings of compassion and kindness come to our heart. They are all *Muslims* drowned in misery."

It is rarely, even, that he takes the trouble to visit the *Kashmir* valley. He sits apart in his luxurious palace at *Jammu* contented to receive such reports of the state of his country as his officeals may choose to furnish him with.

From time to time some of the numerous complaints of his baneful administration, which circulate in newspapers and in the talk of society, must penetrate the seclusion of the royal chambers. He hears them apparently unmoved with indifference or contempt. He never seems to have conceived the idea of investigating their truth or falsehood for himself; or of seeing with his own eyes, and hearing with his own ears the actual condition of his people. He trusts everything to his *Diwans* and *Wazirs*, who

are *Hindus* of a different caste from his own, are ill educated, totally ignorant of *British* forms of Government and of *British* ideas of justice.

There is not only no link between the governing class in *Kashmir* and the native inhabitants of the country, but there are all these deep rooted antipathies which must exist between *Muslims* and *Hindus*. Those who know the feelings that exist between the two races, do not require to be told that a country whose population is entirely composed of followers of one creed, and whose governing power is entirely composed of adherents of the other, must be oppressively and unjustly ruled.

That *Muslim* and *Hindu* to a certain extent amalgamate in *India* is no evidence to the contrary. They have the common feelings of dislike to the *British* and moreover, the *Muslims* of *India* have lost almost all the distinguishing characteristics of their race and religion. None of the noble qualities which once glorie are to be found, in the semi-Hinduized, and consequent debased, *Muslim* of *India*.

The people of *Kashmir*, however, are possessed of many characteristics, both intellectual and moral which command our respect and admirations. Amongst them the religion of *Islam* although sullied by long contact with idolaters, is still kept up with much of its ancient purity, and with a devotion and enthusiasm that would not have disgraced the best days of *Islam*.

“*Jammu and Kashmir State* is labouring under many disadvantages, with a large *Muslim* population absolutely illiterate labouring under poverty and very low economic conditions of living in the villages and practically governed like dumb driven cattle. There is no touch

between the Govt. and the people, no suitable opportunity for representation, representing grievances and the administrative machinery itself requires overhauling from top to bottom to bring it to the modern conditions of efficiency. It is at present, little or no sympathy with the people's wants and grievances.

GRIEVANCES OF THE *MUSLIMS* :

In order to understand the whole situation, it is necessary to enumerate the greivances of the *Muslims*, who constitute the majority community in the valley of *Kashmir* as well as in the state of *Jammu and Kashmir*. These may be summarised as under :

(1) Despite the fact that the *Muslims* constitute 95% of the total population of the state and despite the fact that they pay, practically all of the revenue and other taxes, their share in administration is practically nill. All the high or low posts in civil administration are usurped by the *Hindus* of the *State* as well outsiders. In order to hoodwink the people, a handful of *Muslims* from outside the *State* have been kept as show pieces.

(2) The second grievances of the *Muslims* is that no arrangements at all, are being made by the government of the *Maharaja* towards the educational advancement of the *Muslims*. Not only the *Muslim* students are discouraged from joining schools, but hurdles are placed in their ways by the *non-Muslim* teacher in different ways with the result that they are forced to leave schools.

(3) *Muslim* population in the state is not only poor but has no avenues of work. The poor people have no recourse but to work as labour outside the state, during winter months. The government of the *Maharaja* is doing nothing for opening avenues for them. Whenever any

natural calamity in the shape of fire, flood or famine occurs in the valley, many *Kashmiri Muslims* migrate to the plains of the *Punjab* and settle there, resulting in thinning of the *Muslim* population.

(4) The arts and crafts of *Kashmir*, for which the valley of *Kashmir* was famous throughout the world, have been discouraged by various methods by the government of the *Maharaja*. Instead of patronising the *Kashmiri* artisans, the *Maharaja* and his officials want to suck their blood by taxes and exactions.

(5) The tillers of land, the *zamindars*, and the agriculturists, of the valley, who are all *Muslims* live under even inhuman and unjust conditions. They have been crushed by the burden of heavy taxation and most of them have, run away from *Kashmir*. They have been deprived from the ownership of their lands and all their lands have been parceled out among many *Rajput* and some *Pandit* land-lords. The *Kashmiri zamindars* are now, no better than slaves. These land-lords have let lose a reign of terror on poor tillers of lands.

(6) *Kashmiri Muslims* have to suffer worst kind of atrocities and one of these is the *Begar* or forced labour. The *Maharaja* and his officials consider the *Kashmiri Muslims* as slaves and as such, they have to serve them, without any resentment. The *Maharaja* and his officials have assumed the right of calling for their services as servants, slaves, or coolies of *Kashmiri Muslims* and no one can refuse it. Strangely enough, no *Pandit* from *Kashmir* can be requisitioned for *Begar*, because he is a *Brahman*. This partial treatment is also objectionable; rather the whole system is based on the slave system of *Africa*.

(7) *Muslims* in the *State* complain of partial treatment under the *Dogra Maharaja's* government. While

all kind of patronage is afforded to the *Hindus*, the *Muslims* are ignored in every field of life.

(8) The *Muslims* have been deprived freedom of speech & writing. They cannot form any organisation, nor they can hold any meeting or organise any procession without the permission of the government. There is no freedom of press and platform in the *State* and no *Muslim* is allowed to print and publish any newspaper. All newspapers and magazines, which bring these atrocities to notice of the public, are public, are published in the *British India* but their entry into state is prohibited.

(9) In the field of religious matters the *Muslims* are discriminated against and the *Maharaja* and his officials do not care for their feelings. Specific instances are given as under :-

(a) *Muslim* mosque built by the *Mughals* have been confiscated by the *Hindu Maharaja* and are used as store-houses for grains and arms and stables. When temples of the *Hindus* & *Gurudwaras* of the *Sikhs* & Churches of the *Christians* are free from interference, why should the mosques of the *Muslims* have been desecrated ?

(b) Any *Hindu*, who adopts *Islam*, is deprived of his all movable and immovable property, while any *Muslim*, who adopts *Hinduism* has not to suffer this punishment.

(c) The punishment for slaughtering a cow is 7 years, despite the fact that there is no religious binding among the *Christians* & *Muslims* to eat cow's meat.

(d) While the *Arya-Samaji* preachers have freedom to preach, their tenets and popularise '*Shudi*' movement, the *Muslims* have been deprived to do missionary work. Whenever any non-*Muslim* becomes a *Muslim*, he is imprisoned and tortured.

OPRESSION

“For seventy-five lacs of rupees, the unfortunate *Kashmiris* were handed over to the tender mercies of the most thorough ruffian that ever was created—a villain from a kingdom down to half penny.”

The natural beauty of *Kashmir*, its meadows, its valleys, its forests are the bounties of nature but this paradise on earth is a hell for the sons of the soil. The *Kashmiris* have been ruthlessly crushed. They have been deprived of educational facilities and no one cares for their feelings and aspirations. They are treated as slaves and mercilessly used for *Begar* and forced labour. Under such wretched condition, how can one think of human dignity and self respect? Every year, thousands of *Hindus* go to *Amarnath* cave on religious pilgrimage but it is strange that the cave is being visited by riding in the backs of hundreds of *Kashmiri Muslims* who are requisitioned for *Begar*. These poor people, who are slaves, have to carry the pilgrims and their luggage to the cave on their backs. It is disgusting that all those who are requisitioned for *Begar* are *Muslims* because *Hindus* think of themselves as immortal and pious. Does it behove the government to give preference to the followers of one religion and treat the others as inferiors, meant only for slavery and servitude? 1

Shawls of Kashmir

During previous times, *Kashmir* was famous in *India* and abroad due to its arts and crafts, its *shawls* and *pashmina*. Now the position is reverse and cloth from foreign lands is imported thus resulting in the economic devastation of the villages which used to be centres of arts and crafts.

There was a time when *Kashmir* was a land of milk, butter, fruits, and food-stuffs. Now all these bounties of nature are extinct in this land, due to high prices and taxation. The Government has imposed taxes on land products, as well as, on arts and crafts. The taxes on *shawls* have practically ruined this trade. The people due to high taxes left their fields, and the crops diminished to half, which resulted in a severe famine. The net result has been that the two-thirds of the population perished due to starvation, and many a villages in *Kashmir* were destroyed. The days of the *Kashmiri* arts and crafts are numbered, and those are moving towards downfall. It is not impertinent to declare that the Government of the land is responsible for its destruction and it must own the responsibility for its downfall.

The *Kashmiris* have complained that the Government of the *Maharaja* takes no interest in patronising the arts and craft in *Kashmir*, nor has it any interest in its development and progress. The reason as to why the Government of the *Maharaja* artisans and workers are *Muslims*. As such the *Kashmiris* are correct in this estimate that very soon their arts and crafts will become things of the past.

3. *Shri Gopal Neotia in Tiag-Bhumi, Ajmer,*

Vol. 11, No.24, p.636.

The old arts and crafts of *Kashmir* are being wiped out but the Government has done nothing to develop these ancient traditions. *Kashmir* is famous throughout the world for its *shawls*, wood work, papier-machie and silver work. Alas! All these art and crafts are without any patronage, and it is feared that if the present conditions and apathy continues, these will be wiped out from this world.¹

It was *Sultan Zain-ul-abidin*, who introduced several arts and crafts in *Kashmir*. Though the *Kashmiris* know the art of weaving from ancient times, the Sultan, introduced refined *shawl*-weaving and gave all encouragement to this industry. Even during the *Mughal* occupation of *Kashmir*, the manufacture of the *shawls* flourished, and the *Afghan* and the *Sikh* rulers of the valley obtained much revenue out of this industry. Futile attempts were made to at *Agra*, *Patna*, *Lahore* and *Amritsar* to imitate *Kashmiri* products which are both delicate and soft. It may be pointed that the *Kashmiri shawls* are produced from the finest wool obtained from sheep, bred in *Kashmir*, *Ladakh*, *Tibet* and *Central Asia*.

The Pashum, which reaches *Kashmir* by the ordinary trader is bought up in its raw state and spun into thread of different degrees of fineness by women, the wives of *shawl* and *sadabafs*, merchants, and even of shopkeepers and others, who are unconnected with the *shawl* trade.² They sell it in small quantities to shopkeepers in the *bazar*, from whom it is bought by the *karkandars* and others.

In order to understand the *shawl* system in *Kashmir* it will be necessary to consider separately that of those which are worked by the looms, and those which are worked by the hand since the classes of people employed in

each, and the Government regulations affecting them are essentially different. We will first examine the first system. Loom System:

A *Karkandar* is a *shawl* manufacturer who employs under him a number of *shawl-bafs*, from 20 to 30. He buys the spun thresd from the Pooiwuin and gets it dyed of different colours before it is distributed among his workmen. There are about 100 *Karkandars* in *Kashmir*, small and great all of whom live either in *Srinagar* or *Islamabad*; But the houses in which their *shawl-bafs* work are in different parts of the largest number being in the towns of *Pampur* and *Sopore*.

A number of overseers are, therefore, necessary to superintend the work, to be responsible for the *pashmina*, and to draw the way of the workmen. These people are called *Ustad*, a word which signifies master or, sometimes teadher. There is usually one over every 25 or 30 *shawl-bafs*. At the end of each month, *Ustad* takes to the *Karkandar* an account of the work performed in spinning seems to be considered a necessary branch of the education of the fair sex in *Kashmir*, and to be very ancient institution among them.

Shawl-bafs, or their shagirds, are loom workmen. *Sada-bafs* are those who manufacture the plain *pashmina* by the hand, with the assistance of a small frame. Refagars work the pattern upon the plain *pashmina* by the hand.

That time by each, which is regulated by the amount of work done. The sum thus realised by the *shawl-bafs* usually amount, to from three to five *chilkee* rupees a month, inclusive of the amount deducted by the Government for rice, which is sold to the *shawl-bafs* under

dconditions which I shall explain presently. Such a sum is not sufficient to support a family with any approach to comfort, ever in so fertile a country as *Kashmir*.

The *Dagh-shawl* :

There is in *Srinagar* a large Government office, called the *Dagh-shawl*, in which are employed about 200 *Pandits* for purchase which I shall explain. At their head is an official, commonly called the *Darogha* of the *Dagh-shawl*. Before a loom *shawl* can be legally made, a small piece of the intended degree of fineness must be brought to *Dagh shawl*. The proposed size is named and the price is thus calculated, peice then r  ceives the Government stamp, and is laid up in the *Dagh-shawl*. The *Karkandar* receives a paper describing the *shawl*, and giving the date of the stamp, for which he pays at the time Rs. 18.12 percent on the price of the *shawl*. When the *shawl* is nearly completed, it is taken to the *Dagh-shawl* and the stamped piece is worked into it. No loom *shawl* can, of course, be sold without this stamp. In order to ascertain that no *Karkandar* puts in hand a *shawl* without first obtaining the seal, some of the *Dagh-shawl Pandits* are continually employed in inspecting the different *Karkanass* throughout the towns, and the few villages in which there may happen to be any.¹

It appears that they are in the gabit of demanding and receiving from the *Karkandars* illegal remuneration for their boat-hire, road expenses, which, as their visits are necessarily very frequent, must amount to a considerable sum.

At the end of each year the amount paid into the *Dagh-Shawl* by each *Karkandar* is calculated by the officials of that office, and compared with the amount he

would have paid, had the tax of Rs. 47-8 per *shawl-baf* being taken from him instead.

The deficiency is then paid by the *Karkandar*. It rarely or never happens that he paid percentage in excess because he entertains a doubt (not, I suppose unfounded) that in the event of his having done so, the difference would not be refunded to him by the *Darogha*. He restricts himself therefore to the making of such number of *shawls*, the tax upon which will not exceed the amount of the original import of Rs. 47-8 per *shawl-baf* annually.

That such an arrangement is detrimental to the interest of *shawl-baf*, and beneficial only to the officials of the *Dagh-Shawl* is evident enough. It is not, however, the interest of the *Dogra Maharaja* and the *Karkandar* which call for any special consideration, but those of the unfortunate *shawl-baf*. In order to understand more fully the situation of that individual, and the principal causes of the wholesale emigrations of *shawl-bafs* and *sada-bafs* to the *Punjab*, it will be necessary to advert to an occurrence, which happened at *Srinagar* in the year 1865.

On his way to take up his appointment, he was met at *Banihal* by from 1,200 to 1,500 *shawl-bafs*, who came to complain to him concerning two matters. First, that in consequence of the Government order, no *shawl-bafs* was allowed to purchase more than eight *Kharwars* of shali yearly, and that such an amount was insufficient for their support.

Second, that the deduction in the price of shali sold to them by Government, which had been ordered by the *Dogra Maharaja* about three years before should be allowed to them in full.

This requires some explanations, which will further illustrate the system of *Kashmir* Government. Soon after the occupation of *Kashmir* *Gulab Singh Dogra*, the rupee of the country, called as *Hari Singhi* equal in value to 8 *annas*, was changed by him for the present *chilkee* coin.

It has been started earlier periods of the *Dogra* occupation Famine condition had become acute by 1865, and the masses had harkly reconciled to the rule of *Gulab Singh*. Their economec ruin aggravated the situation, and people had to run towards the *Punjab*. The *shawl* workers had given lead in this respect when in 1847 they had started on their migration march towards *Lahore*. A major portion of the *Kashmiri* farmers and workers migrated towards the plains between 1865 and 1870. The Lt. Governor of the *Punjab*, time and again, reminded the *Maharaja* to take prompt action to save his subjects. Accordingly, food grains were imported for distribution among the city people, but nothing was done for the villagers, who were allowed to die. Distressing nows began to be published in many newspapers in *India* about the famine conditions prevalent in *Kashmir*. It was claimed that atrocities had been committed by the *Dogra* soldiers on the

starving *Muslims*. The *State* Government, took steps to suppress such adverse news. *Pandit Har Gopal*, who a pleader informed the *British* Government that in order to stop them to migrate one hundred famine stricken people were got drowned in the *Wolar Lake*.¹

Agitation:

All taxes, however, remained at the same amount of rupees. Thus the *Karkandar's* tax of Rs. 47-8 *Hari Singh* was changed to 47-8 *Chilkee* rupees. Necessarily the prices of everything rose in proportion, and the *shawl-bafs*, about six years ago, most reasonably requested that for such amount work as for merely entitled them to a *Hari Singhi* rupee, they should now receive a *chilkee* rupee. They preferred their request to the *Maharaja*, who decided that half of the difference between the old and the new coin should be paid by the *Karkandar*, and half by the Government to the *shawl-bafs*.

It was further decided that the manner in which this last portion should be liquidated, was to be by a remission of two and a half company's *annas* in the price of each *Kharwar* of shali sold by the Govt. to the *shawl-baf*. Shali should therefore have been sold to the *shawl-baf* at the rate of 17 *annas* per *Kharwar*.

shawl-bafs assembled to petition their new governor, *Kirpa Ram*, on his arrival in *Kashmir*. The answer they received from him was, that he would listen to their complains when he reached *Srinagar*. When that event took place, he was again waited upon by the *shawl-bafs*, but they only obtained an answer that he would attend to them in a few days. This process having been repeated two or three times, the *shawl-bafs* assembled themselves together, in a somewhat riotous manner, on the maidan beyond the canal at the back of the city, to consult over wrong and grievences...

The First Demands Day :

Here is an account of the first Demands Day of the *shawl-bafs*. Starvation and famine conditions produced mass discontentment in the valley, because the authorities could not import sufficient quantities of food grains. The worst sufferers were the *shawl* workers. The people had no course except to migrate to the plains or die of starvation. Such migration of the *Kashmiri Muslim* to the *Punjab* led defamation of the *Hindu Maharaja*, and the *British* intervention of one kind or the other. Hence the *Dogra Maharaja* did not like fleeing of the people from the valley and sealed frontiers of his dominion.

In April 1865; the people agitated against the atrocities of the officials. *Shawl* workers were in the fore-front, and it was a unique and an organised rising. On the historic day of 20th April 1865, the workers joined the struggle in *India*. The workers from all parts of the city marched in a procession towards *Zaldagar*. They raised slogans, and burnt effigy of *Pandit Raj Kak Dhar*, the *Daroga* of the *Shawl* Department. *Kirpa Ram*, who was the

Dogra Government of *Kashmir* at that time, decided to crush the uprising of the *Kashmiri Muslims* with a strong hand. The *Dogra* forces at *Srinagar* were sent under the command of *Bajay Singh* to deal with the procession. The workers were surrounded, and then charged with guns and wpears. After some deaths, the procession ran towards the bridge of *Haji Rather Sum*. Many of them fell into the marshy canal, and got drowned. Hundereds of workers suffered minor and major injuries and at least 28 *Kashmiris* dead bodies were recovered by the people from the army. In the freedom struggle these unknown 28 martyrs have played an important role.²

As soon as the *Ranbir Singh Dogra* received information about the agitation, he ordered that the rebles be dealt-with very severely. He gave instructions to his Governor that the dead bodies afloat the water, be got burried very secretly.

The *Dogra Maharaja* also desired that as directed earlier, punitive fines be imposed on sorkers, *Patwaries* and others, who had taken part in the agitation. He further ordered that punitive fines be realised from all agitators, and their leaders be arrested and punished. The agitation was suppressed ruthlessly its leaders, i.e. *Sheikh Rasool*, *Abli Baba*, *Qudda Lalla*, and *Sona Bhat*, who had been arrested, were brought to the *Shergarhi* palace and beaten mercilessly. They were strapped and thrown in a dungeon. *Shaikh Rasool* and *Abli Baba* died of atrocities. In the meanshile, a heavy fine of

Rs. 50,000 in each was imposed on all the four leaders. And when it came to light that they were poor, it was reduced to Rs. 25,000 in each case. But the *Maharaja* did not agree to this remission, for he wanted to make it a test case and example for his subjects. The other two leaders were sent to *Jammu* to be imprisoned in the Bahu fort. Besides the above hundreds of agitators were arrested and imprisoned in the jail at *Habak*. Most of them died of cold and starvation. The Government of *India* deputed some officers to enquire in to these atrocities, but could not sympathise with the miseries of the people. After all they had themselves suppressed the upbringing of 1857. Under such circumstances, *Ranbir Singh Dogra* put down the *Shawl* workers agitation with a strong hand, and the then *British Government in India* tolerated all this repression on the *Kashmiri Muslims*.

The account given by Robert Throp is resumed as under :-

In bitter and despairing mood, the *shawl-bafts* made a wooden bier, such as the *Muslims* use to carry their dead to the place of internment. Placing a cloth over the coffin, they carried it to and from in procession, exclaiming; *Raj Kak* is dead, who will give him a grave ? The house of the individual thus honoured overlooked the maidan, and the whole proceeding was apparent enough to him. He went to the governor *Kirpa Ram*, who gave him some 300 to 500 sepoys with whom he proceeded to the the maidan. The *shawl-bafts* fled at the approach of an armed force, and in the crowding and hurry of their flight some five or six were drowned in the waters of the canal. The affair was reported to *Jammu* but no enquiries appear to have been made at the time. About a month and a half afterwards, *Raj Kak* did really die with unenviable feelings,

one can fancy and the *shawl-bafs* were left to purchase their rice at the reduced rates in peace. The restriction as to quantity, however, remained unchanged, until by the decree of the 1st December 1867, the boon of permission to purchase eleven *Kharwars* of shali yearly was granted to the family of each *shawl-baf*.

Sale of Rice

The manner of selling the shali to the *shawl-bafs* is as follows. On the arrival of the grain in *Srinagar*, a large amount is set aside for the *shawl-bafs*, and portions of it are, from time to time, made over to the *Darogha* for them. When that official receives an order for so much sale from the Governor, he takes his accounts. Then he writes orders for each of the *Karkandars*, entitling them to receive so much rice, according to the number of men in their employ, from certain specified boats. *Karkandar*, on receipt of the order, sends for the boat or boats, named, and distributes the rice to his *shawl-bafs*, keeping an account of the amount delivered to each to be deducted from his monthly wages, the *Karkandar* being himself charged with the total cost of the rice in his account with the *Darogha*.

Such was the way in which the *shawl-bafs* were allowed to purchase their eight *Kharwars*, and are now allowed to purchase their eleven *Kharwars*, yearly. It is unnecessary to point out the endless confusion, mistakes, and corruption which must enter into such an arrangement. This is to be noted regarding it, that even now although a sufficient amount of rice is provided for the use of the *shawl-baf* in the year yet, since it is not given in the lump, but in portions from time to time, he may at certain seasons find himself short. His position is like that of a hostage or a slave in lieu of food.

Such was, of course, frequently the case under the eight *Kharwar* system, when the *shawl-baf* and his family were often reduced to a state of semi-starvation.

Unable to obtain rice from his master, the *Karkandar*, who had issued all that he had received from the *Darogha*, the *shawl-baf* went to that official to complain that his rice was temporarily withheld.

The *Darogha* sent for the *Karkandar*, who produced his accounts showing that he had distributed all the rice he had received. The *Darogha* having also expended all that he had received from the Governor upto that date, the unfortunate *shawl-baf* was, of course, told to go about his business, and die of hunger.

By the *Maharaja's* proclamation of the 1st December 1867, that court of the *shawl-bafs* has been appointed, under the title of the *Darogha-i-Shawl-Dagh*, the *Darogha* always had power to punish *shawl-bafs* and *sada-bafs*, and to adjust their complaints, so far as the Government system permitted him. Some 50 sepoys are always present during the day at the *Dagh-Shawl* for the execution of his orders. The only difference now is, that another official is to hold court in the *Dagh-Shawl*, and attend to complaints. He is, however, in a position inferior to that of the *Darogha*, and therefore subservient to him. Moreover, since the complaints of the *shawl-bafs* are always either of scant supply of rice, or small payment of wages, the impossibility of any adjustment is evident enough.

The importance of this industry can be explained by giving details about the export of *Kashmir shawls*, outside *India*.

1851	\$ 171,709
1852	\$ 146,270
1853	\$ 215,659
1854	\$ 170,153
1855	\$ 192,890
1856	\$ 209,279
1857	\$ 290,640
1858	\$ 227,618
1859	\$ 310,027
1860	\$ 252,828
1861	\$ 351,093
1862	\$ 459,441
1863	\$ 303,157
1864	\$ 275,391
1865	\$ 254,498

Oppressions of the *Dogra* Rule :

The most detestable piece of oppression committed against the *shawl-bafs* is, however, this that none of them are permitted to relinquish their employment without finding of substitute which, of course, it is almost always impossible to do.

The *shawl-baf* may become half blind as many of them do from the nature of the work. He may contrast other diseases, which the sedentary life and the foetid atmosphere of the low rooms engender and ripen. He may long to take up some other employment, which will permit him to breath the fresh air, to recruit the unstrung nerves, the cramped sinews, and the weakened frame; and to prolong the poor boon of existence, which the fearful toil of the loom is hurrying to its close; Nothing but death can release him from his bondage, since the discharge of a *shawl-baf* would reduce the *Dogra Maharaja's* revenue by 36 *chilkee* a year.

It is not strange, that the *British* Government of *India* should have the power to remove by a word these miseries and sufferings, and will not say it ?

Do these who are in power even spend a thought up on the people whom their predecessors sold into slavery ?

Do they ever picture to themselves those low-roomed, ill-ventilated abodes, where the loom-workers sit at their forced labour day after day toiling for their miserable pittance ?

Those fairly-coloured threads of wool are not the only ones which these looms weave to their completion. Threads of life, more costly than those of the softest *pashmina* whose price will be demanded by Heaven yet, are spun out there on the loom of sickness and suffering.

Death, suicide or flight are only doors of release open to heavy-laden *shawl-bafs*. Thus we have arrived at an understanding of the causes which have produced those extensive migrations of the *Kashmiri shawl-bafs* to the *Punjab*. But the later alternative is only possible to a ban in tolerable health and strength, since the difficulties to be encountered, including the guarded outlets of the valley are many and great.

It is a sad commentary on the affairs in the state during the rule of the *Dogra* Maharajas, that these industries which supported thousands of artisans in the past, become extant, after 1847, when the *British* shamefully sold *Kashmir* and its people to *Gulab Singh Dogra*. Deprived of any encouragement from the *Maharaja*, the manufacture of *Namdās*, *Gabbas*, *Puttoos*, and cotton cloth became rare. Not only in *Kashmiri*, but in the *Samba* region of *Jammu* principality, the *Maharaja* was

partial to that area. But his lust for money did not even save the poor artisans of his birth place also. It is not only the *Kashmiris*, who suffered untold miseries, during the rule of *Gulab Singh* and *Rambir Singh*, but they were equally ruthless in collecting money & taxes from the *Dogra* inhabitants of *Jammu* region also. While alluring the *Rajputs* as kith and kins and utilising them as mercenaries for unholy aims, these cunning rulers took and appropriated the fruits of the toils of jats and other people of *Jammu*.

Migrations

Many of the *Kashmiri* fugitives make their way over remote and difficult mountain passes, others by temporarily attaching themselves to a foreign visitors camp. One way or another, they contrive to reach the *Punjab* in considerable number and find, in exile, a refuge from the *Maharaja* officials, or the *Dagh-shawl*. Is it not almost incredible, that the *British* Government of *India* has only to say a word to restore these unhappy beings to their homes and happiness and comfort to hundreds and thousands of suffering families through *Kashmir*, and will not say it ?

Consider the half-despairing feeling of one of those refugees *shawl-bafs*, as he prepares to fly like a hunted felon from his wife, and children for to take them with him is, of course, an impossibility. How many a miserable hour must he have known debating with himself to leave the dear ones of his home with the uncertainty of ever again beholding them.

A difficult and dangerous path before him, the possibility of capture and imprisonment, the uncertainty of what he shall meet with in that unknown land which he has heard of by the name of the *Punjab*, which they tell him the *British* rule over, and do not suffer the poor to be

oppressed. The journey across the mountains is, indeed easy enough for the *British* visitor, with his camp and all its comforts and appliances. But what is it for one of these unfriended out casts with scant supply of clothing, fod, shelter and the dread of capture and punishment continually before his eyes.

The *British* traveller, as he pauses on his pleasant journey towards *Kashmir*, and looks up at the bright snowed summits towering above him, and perhaps thanks God if he have any gift that way for making this earth so beartiful needs not that other aspect of the world, which the pale worn figure hastening past him might reveal. He flies like a hunted felon, as I said and his crime is poverty : of these fugitives I have learnt that they are in the habit of sinding supplies of money to their families, as occasion offers by some trader or other returning to the valley. I am told that confidence thus placed is never abused. Surely this one fact speaks volumes in favour of the *Kashmiri* character in regard to those two qualities, which they certainly exhibit in a marked degree namely, honesty and loving kindness.¹

I never yet heard of a foreigner having anything stolen by a *Kashmiri* and have very rarely heard of theft among themselves. In their villages, anyone who have become incapacitated from old age or sickness, and who has no near relations to look after him, is supported by the community. In the cities, especially in *Srinagar*, food and money are given to all of the poor who may come to ask for them from the house of those who are tolerably well off, on the 11th of every month, as well as on all their sacred days, and especially on the occasion of the end, and through the month of Ramzan.² It were easy for me to multiply instances of this and

Other traits in their character worthy of admiration, but these pleasant aspects of *Kashmir* are somewhat foreign to our immediate purpose, nor have I at present time to speak of them. I have to return, therefore to the same tragic story of migrations.

The people of *Kashmir* are unjustly abused by interested people who support the *Maharaja*; and also by travellers whose knowledge of them is limited to boatmen, shikaris, and others with whom the *European* visitor ordinarily comes in contact.

This custom is in remembrance of the great saint, *Hazarat Pir Dastagir*, whose shrine is in the environs of the city.

The family of a refugee *shawl-baf* is by no means left in peace; for according to *Hindu* ideas of justice, infraction of the law by any member of the community implicates all his relations. The *Karkandar*, of course, immediately informs the *Darogha*, in order that his tax may be decreased.

The *Darogha* sends a sepoy to the house of fugitive and wife or mother or father, or probably all of them, are brought up before the *Dagh-shawl*.

They are fined a rupee or two, or suffer a few days imprisonment, by the Government, whose cruelty and injustice have driven from them, in some cases, their almost only means of support.

Such is the case of those who fly from the valley. But how many are there who would fain fly and cannot, who are driven to their unhealthy and sometimes fatal, labour in the *Karkhana* by the sepoys of the *Dagh-shawl*!

Such is the loom system, and the misery which it produces. The obvious remedy for most of its evils would be the abolition of the *Dagh-Shawl* and the institution of a triennial census of the *shawl-bafs*, showing how many were at that time employed by each *Karkandar*. The tax, which ought to be lowered to 25 to 30 *chilkee* rupees on each *shawl-baf* annually, should be collected in advance, by which arrangement the *Karkandar* would be enabled to increase the number of his workmen for three years, without an increase of tax. At the end of the first three years, the lessor would probably show an increase in the total number of *shawl-bafs*, and in the course of six or nine years, the Government revenue from the loom *shawl* tax would most likely be larger than it is now. What is of more importance, the *Karkandar* would be able, and should be compelled, to raise the present wages of his *shawl-bafs* to 10 to 12 *chilkee* rupee a month, thereby enabling them to live in their native country in very tolerable comfort, provided that the law of forced labour was abolished, and a reasonable money tax, instead of produce, taken from the *zamindars*.¹

As the matter stands at present, the condition of the *shawl-baf* has only been "Bettered" to the extent of 5 *chilkee* rupees a year.

The Hand-work *Shawl* System:

A *sada-baf* is the workman who makes the plain *pashmina* from the spun pasham, upon which the coloured threads are afterwards worked with needles by the workman who is called a *rafoogar*. The *sada-bafs* are immediately under the *Darogha* of the *Dagh-shawl*, and in that office a register of their names is always kept; for like the *shawl-bafs*, they are neither allowed to leave the Valley

nor relinquish their employment. The *sada-bafs* buy the pasham themselves from the bazars, and manufacture *pashmina* can of course, be sold by them without the *Dagh-Shawl* stamps, the tax on which is levied at the rate of 10 *chilkee* rupees for 4 yards of

It is unnecessary to point out the facilities for evasion of the tax as it is at present collected, by collusion between the *Darogha* and the *Karkandar*, which would be in a great measure removed by the institution of a triennial census.

Pashmina. *Pandits* are employed, similarly to those who visit the *karkanas* or factories, to ascertain that no *pashmina* is sold by a *sada-bafs* without having paid the above tax. It is said that their visits are dreaded by the *sada-bafs*, since the *Pandits* oblige them to pay a sort of other charges. Due to services these *Pandits*, who are themselves *Kashmiris* become agents of repression on their own *Muslim* brethren.

When plain *pashmina* is brought from a *sada-baf* for the purpose of having a pattern worked upon it, or of being dyed, it must be again taken to the *Dagh-Shawl* where the first stamp is washed out and a paper given by the owner, in which the intended ground colour is named. As soon as it is dyed, it must be again taken to the *Dagh-Shawl*, and a second stamp is affixed, and a second tax of 18 *chilkee* rupees is levied upon the same 4 yards. The *shawl* work may then be completed upon it. When finished, it is taken for a fourth time to the *Dagh-Shawl* when the owner receives a certificate to the custom-house through which it may have to pass on its way to the *Punjab* or elsewhere.

The amount paid by a rafoogar or other to a *sada-baf* for a piece of plain *pashmina* is one *chilkee* rupee per yard, in addition to the market value of the thread, and the cost of the *Dagh-shawl* stamp.

A yard cannot be made under from two four days; the position therefore, of the *sada-baf* is but slightly better than that of his brother of the loom, but he is not allowed to leave the Valley of *Kashmir* or relinquish his trade.

The circumstances of the rafoogar are tolerably comfortable nor is he in the same state of serfdom as the *shawl-baf* and the *sada-baf*, being permitted the privilege of changing or giving up his trade, should he wish to do so. Arthur Brinckman sums up the condition of a *Kashmiri* worker as under :

To see the oppression is easy enough, to prove each act, and to trace it to its source is harder. But this I tried to do, and I proved that oppression exists far than any one dreams of that I have yet met with. The people may seem to work away quietly, many of them may be happy, never known a better lot; the ordinary traveller might not see the oppression though hearing of it. A gang of convicts seem uncomplaining enough at work, which considering how they are fed and cared for, is not surprising. But alas, the *Kashmiris* are treated just like so many convicts, none work for their own benefit. They set to work quietly and with no pleasure, themselves to reap and carry to the barns of the hated government and race.

Scenes Of Death

“Lakhs of hungry, naked and suffering
Kashmiris are breathing
their last. Deprived of the necessities of life,
clothing,
food. They are covering their life-span,
rather nearing
their death, under extreme oppression,
degradation and
atrocities.

Buddh Singh 1946

On the 16th day of March 1846, *Gulab Singh Dogra* was raised to rank and dignity, by the *British*. Not only the *Kashmiris* were handed over to his mercies, but the whole of *Jammu, Ladakh* and the region between the rivers *Ravi* and *Beas* were handed over to him as a price of his treachery to his master. After having established himself through the military support of the *British*, in the valley of *Kashmir*, he started his campaigns of subjugating other surrounding regions, such as *Baltistan* and *Gilgit*.

One cannot but admire the love of independence which the people of *Gilgit, Chilas, Yasin* and *Ishkonan*, together with *Chitral*, showed again and again for keeping their home-lands free from the clutches of *Dogra* regime. They had never known a foreign master and

as such bravely fought the *Dogra* and the *British*, whenever an opportunity came to them.

They refused to allow any outsider, either *British* or *Dogra* to consolidate his position in their homelands. They were subjugated physically, but their spirits remained free, always and they obtained their deliverance at last in 1947, from the clutches of *Dogra Maharaja*. The *British* Government had sold to *Gulab Singh Dogra*, the country situated to the eastward of the river *Indus* and Westward of the river *Ravi*. This clearly reveals that *Gulab Singh Dogra* had no right to cross the *Indus* and try to occupy *Gilgit* and other regions. The same views were held by the people of *Dardistan* and are given as under :-

“The *Dogras* could not subdue *Gilgit* during the life time of *Gohar Aman*. *Ladakh* and *Baltistan* had been subdued on behalf of *Maharaja Ranjit Singh* in 1833, and military Governor had been posted by *Shaikh Gulam Mohi-ud-din*, at *Gilgit*. As such, the *Maharaja* had no right over *Ladakh* and *Baltistan*. What to speak of *Gilgit* ! The *British* Government had given him all lands and hills between western side of the river *Ravi* and eastern side of the river *Sindh*. As such, he had no right to change his boundaries, moreso, to cross the river *Sindh* including *Hunza* and *Nagar*.”

This clearly reveals the mind of the tribesmen, who were fighting for their home-land with conviction, and sincerely believed that the *Dogra Maharaja* had no right, legal or moral to subjugate them.

After having consolidated his position in *Kashmir*, *Gulab Singh* deputed his troops for subjugation of *Gilgit*, which had risen against the foreign under the leadership of *Gohar Aman*. All attempts to subdue these freedom loving tribes failed and the *Dogra* forces were

completely annihilated. The *Maharaja* made frantic appeal to the *British* for help, who advised him to despatch more troops to *Gilgit*, fortify it with arms, ammunition and provisions. The main reason for the failure of the *Dogra* troops to subdue these hilly tribes in 1848 was that the *Maharaja's* Government had not settled down as yet, and the *British* were themselves engaged in consolidating their position to cis-Sutlej States. The frontier chief of *Hunza* possible to defeat the united forces of the hilly chiefs.

Gulab Singh Gogra collected a huge force in 1852, and deputed it to conquer the tribal territory of *Chilas*. But major portion of his forces was killed in the fight. But the *Dogras* held on their pickets and succeeded in capturing the fort after many hardships. In the meanwhile, *Gohar Aman* led an attack on the *Dogra* reinforcements, which were advancing towards *Gilgit* under the command of *Bheop Singh*. All the invading forces were cut to pieces, and *Bheop Singh* died in the battle field. Accordingly, the *Darad* people, once again succeeded in saving their independence, and territories. During the life time of *Gohar Aman*, the *Dogra Maharaja* could not dare to attack *Dardistan*, and had to wait for 8 years.

After making ample preparations, and equipping the army with arms, ammunition and provisions. *Ranbir Singh Dogra* deputed a huge force for the conquest of *Gilgit* in 1860. *Gohar Aman* had died, and there was no able leader to combine the strength of the tribals against the invaders. The *Dogra* forces under *Devi Singh* had no difficulty in capturing the fort of *Gilgit*, and making it as a base, he proceeded to *Yasin*. Thus, he carved a buffer *State* of *Punial*, between *Gilgit* and *Yasin*, and placed *Isa Bhadar* as its ruler. Thus a faithful feudatory was planted right

within the tribal territory of *Gohar Aman*. This policy proved fruitful to *Maharaja*, who succeeded in purchasing a traitor from the tribals to fight his own kith and kin. Now, the whole of the *Dardistan* lay divided at the mercy of the *Dogras*. *Malik Aman* the son of the deceased leader *Gohar Aman*, fled to Chitral, and *Yasin* was placed under the Governorship of *Mahar Wali*. Beneath the apparent quiet which prevailed after the subjugation of *Gilgit*, Chilas and *Yasin* by the *Dogras* a strong current of opposition to the foreign rule emerged again and again. The people though subdued expressed their resentment whenever an opportunity offered itself to them. They resorted to gurilla tactics under the leadership *Malik Aman*. They inflicted losses on the *Dogra* in *Yasin*, who had carried a general massacre of men, women and children in the fort of *Yasin*. However, occasional outbreaks of open hostility continued to occur in the border areas. Taking advantage of the rivalry between the people of *Hunza* and *Nagar*, the *Dogras* led an attack on *Hunza* from *Gilgit* in the year 1866. But they had to run away with disgrace. The people of *Dardistan* once again united to throw off the foreign yoke. *Malik Aman*, having received aid from *Chitral*, proceeded to take over *Gilgit*, and thus succeeded to occupy the left bank of the river *Gilgit*. The freedom loving tribals succeeded in capturing many forts in *Punial*. The *Dogras* succeeded in capturing a few women and children who were brought to *Srinagar* as prisoners of war.

In 1866, the Viceroy enquired into causes of strife and turmoil in *Gilgit*, from *Nihal Chand*, the motamid of the *Maharaja*. The motamid told him that :

It was in the nature of the *Muslim* tribesman to break into violence occasionally due to their shortsightedness.

While giving a report of the interview to the *Maharaja*, *Nihal Chand* informed that the Viceroy had advised to plant 500 families of the *Rajputs* and other *Hindus*, in *Gilgit*, and give them all facilities for settlement, such as lands and jagirs so that they and their successors become possessors of the area and ensure peace in that region. The *Maharaja*, who wanted to punish the tribesman of *Dardistan*, decided to send a huge force to *Gilgit* under the command of his aged and experienced soldier *Wazir Zorawar*. He equipped this army with arms and ammunition. Numerous *Kashmiris* were captured to work as coolies, who perished in the way. In September 1866, *Wazir Zorawar* led an attack on the *Darads* but *Malik Aman*, the leader of the freedom fighters had got it evacuated before the *Dogras* invasion and most of the inhabitants had fled towards the mountains. As the snow had fallen the *Dogras* forces could achieve nothing and many died due to the scarcity of rations. Thousands of *Kashmiri Muslims*, who had been dragged for the *Begar*, captured animals, and coolies died on the way. Numerous suffered frost bite, and got blinded due to snow. The *Maharaja* achieved nothing.

For subjugation of other territories and people, the *Dogra Maharaja* utilised both the people of *Jammu* and the masses in *Kashmir*, in two different ways. The *Dogras* of *Jammu* are used as mercenaries to fight battles for him, while the *Kashmiris* are used as carriers of rations, and other supplies for the above mercenaries. To the former, he gives the impression that the *Dogras* being brave must conquer all, and thus he participation in the *Dogras* rule. The *Kashmiris*, who have been purchased by him, he need not tell anything but force them to carry on his orders, for they are no more than slaves. The net result

is that both the people of *Jammu* and *Kashmir* sufferers for *Begar* or forced labour is forced on them against their wishes. For this purpose, occasional raids are made on villages, and thus complements of men required by the *Dogra Maharaja* are raised. Knight has given a pathetic description of the *Begar* which is reproduced below :

Many thousands of villagers have been driven off every year to toil as carriers of burden on the *Gilgit* road.

Gilgit is a name of terror throughout the State. An enormous transport service is needed to supply the garrison on the northern frontier with grain. The *Kashmir* authorities have been utterly careless of the comfort, and even of the lives, of unfortunate wretches who are dragged from their homes and families to trudge for months, over the wearisome marches of that arid country. They fall on the road to perish of hunger and thirst, and, thinly clad as they are, destroyed in hundreds at a time, by the cold on the snowy passes. When a man is seized for this form of *Begar*, his wives and children hang upon him, weeping, taking it almost granted that they will never return.

A gang of these poor creatures, heavily laden with grain for *Dogra* soldiers, toiling along the desert crags between *Astar* and *Gilgit*, urged upon by a *Dogra* sepoy, is perhaps as pitiable a spectacle as any to be seen on the roads of the *Siberia*.

But these are not convicts and criminals, they are *Muslim* farmers of *Kashmir*, harmless subjects of the *Hindu Maharaja*.

A large number of troops being usually kept in the countries of *Gilgit* and *Astar*, supplies of rice and other commodities are sent up in the autumn of every year

from *Kashmir* for their use. *Zamindars* or the tillers of land are pressed from every part of *Kashmir* to carry these supplies. They are collected by the different *Kardars* from the villages under their respective control, where a kind of register is kept, that each house may furnish its quota of men in turn. Those who are thus collected are paid from 4 to 7 *chilkee* rupees for the double journey by their *Kardar*, and sent by him in charge of a Harkara to *Bandipoor*, where there is a sort of depot presided over by a *Hindu* official. From him they receive their loads, with a memorandum of the amount which they have to deliver to the Governor of *Astar*, and from him they bring back a receipt to be presented to the official at *Bandipoor*. Now, since the full amount that an ordinary man can carry is given to the villager, and since little or nothing can be purchased on the road, it is obvious that he must either eat part of his load, or starve.

Starvation Deaths :

Nevertheless, on his return to *Bandipora* is taken quantity thus rendered deficient, as shown by the receipt, is taken from the village in money. The journey from *Bandipora* to *Astar*, for a laden man, occupies twelve days. Such is the ordinary system in time of peace. If this were all, it would not perhaps, considering the far greater evils than inadequate payment, for the work that disgrace the Government of the country, be scarcely worth writing about. But when some of the frequent disturbances in *Gilgit* necessitate an increased number of troops, the *Kashmiri* agreculturists, and others, have to suffer worse evils than a month of bad and ill-paid labour.

A *Zamindar* will ordinarily have three days journey from his village to *Bandipoor*, twelve days to

Astar, where he will be delayed for a few days. He will also be delayed at *Bandipoor*, as well going as returning. Therefore, the double journey from his village to *Astar* and back cannot take less than fifty days. For this, the *zamindar* receives from 4 to 7 *chilkee* rupees. Now, even an *European* traveller takes *zamindar* into the mountain to act as coolies (not as shikari, who are paid a higher rate) he usually gives them 6 company rupees a month and ration or eight without rations. The sepoys in *Astar* appear to be under no control, and they illtreat the people of the country as much as they please. When I was in that district in October, 1867, I found a sepoy abusing an old man, and trying to take something from him.

I called the sepoy but he would not come. He retreated to the guard house of the village, where were some other sepoys. I pursued him, and brought him to my tent, where I bound him with ropes and made him sit as a prisoner, without his tulwar, for sometime.

I mention this little incident in order to remind those who feel scandalised at hearing of *British* in *Kashmir* who act contrary to law, that throughout the dominions of the *Dogra* Government there is, properly speaking, no law."

Dr. Arthur Neve, *Christian* missionary describes the scene of requisition for *Begar* as under :

I was at *Islamabad*, endeavouring to fight an epidemic of cholera by sanitation, and noticed coolies collecting from all the surrounding region, each with his blanket, spare grass-shoes, his carrying crutch, and light frame of stocks and rope in which to carry the load upon his back. And I was present at the great concourse on a green meadow in front of the mosque when a sort of farewell service was held for those starting on this perilous

journey. Loud was the sobbing of many and fervid the demeanour of all as, led by the mullah, they intoned their prayers and chanted some of their special Ramzan penitential psalms. Even braver men than the *Kashmiris* might well have been agitated at such a time, when taking farewell of their loved ones !

Who would till their fields ?

What would gappen during their long absence to their wives and children ?

To what perils would they themselves be exposed in the snowy passes of that deadly *Gilgit* ?

The last occasion was in 1866, in the summer of that year, it was supposed to be necessary to send up an unusual number of troops, and *zamindars*, boatmen and even tradesmen of the city were pressed to carry their supplies and baggage. They were sent off in a hurry, without the slightest provision being made for their lodging, clothing, or subsistence on the road, beyond their allowance of one seer of rice a day for their food and payment.

It is commonly reported that numbers of them died on that occasion. Many of them did certainly die during that year on the *Gilgit* road, engaged in carrying Government stores, and the causes I have mentioned namely, want of food, shelter, and clothing. But I believe that the actual time was somewhat latter part of the year of approaching winter. After those who had been sent with the troops had returned to *Kashmir*, it was found necessary to send further supplies, it having then been determined to keep the increased number of troops there throught the winter.

Accordingly, late in the autumn of 1866, the supplies were sent on the back of villagers, taken from the

villages in the manner I have described; and many of these men died on the road from cold, exhaustion and want of food. What of food, although they carried rice on their backs, since in the absence of fuel, and consequently of boiling water, rice is not available for food.

Acts of Barbarity:

I have elsewhere taken occasion to notice this truly *Hindu* like act of barbarity, but was then under the impression that the men died during the summer, when sent with the troop to *Gilgit*.¹ I did not then know that the *zamindars* had been again sent late in the autumn, at which time it appears that the deaths occurred from the causes I have mentioned. The inhuman attitude of the authorities only appears more glaring from the facts of their having sent men without any equipment, along a road like that from *Kashmir* to *Astar*, at such a season of the year. It was necessary, no doubt to supply the troops; but if the Government arrangements were so extremely bad, that no provision had been made before-hand in a place where there is always responsibility of an increased demand for troops, and adequate amount of equipment clothing and arrangement for the shelter of these who were sent up with the supplies shall have been made. But nothing of the kind was done, and the men were sent off over the passes with the heavy loads and many of them perished as I have said. A *Hindu*-like act of barbarity I have called it, since it preceded not so much from active as from a passive carelessness to human suffering a dull,

stupid indifference like that with which the driver of the bullock wagon in *India* urges of his starved and yoke-galled beast, with blows and foul language until the miserable brute falls dead on the road. The state in which bullocks, donkeys, and dark-gharry horses are frequently seen on the public roads of *India*, is a disgrace to the Government of *India*. Their owners would be punished in *England*; why are they permitted to escape in *India* ? The state of the last ought to be well-known to the present Viceroy, who patronises that mode of conveyance in his annual journeys between Simla and Calcutta.

I have travelled that road, from *Astar* to *Srinagar*, and can testify that it is one of the worst of the mountain path which lead out of *Kashmir* into the interior, both on account of the steepness and height of the passes, and still more from the scarcity of villages and the unwillingness of the inhabitants to sell supplies of any kind.

I crossed the *Kumori Pass*, which leads from the *Gurais* into the *Astar* valley in October 1867. It was covered with snow for many miles on the *Gurais* side. For two days journey on the *Astar* side, I saw no human habitation for at least three days in from one valley to the other, and no shelter of any kind. I myself with servants, coolies, tents, etc. and the advantage of fine weather, had some difficulty in the pass. We were shelterless by twilight in the middle of the snow at a great elevation. We only succeeded in reaching a spot where tents could be pitched, by observing a part of the mountain side which we could descend rapidly, and thus reached a spot of ground free from snow as darkness came on.

Some troops had crossed a few days before me, and the number of dead tatoos by the side of the track bore witness to the difficulty they had encountered.

But it was in the month of November that these *zamindars* were sent up to *Gilgit*, where the pass must have been considerably worse. They were sent without the slightest provision for their shelter, clothing, of food, beyond the loads of rice which they carries on their backs. How many died, it is of course impossible to say : what *Dogra* Government would ever think of recording the names or number of those who had died in their service.

Picture to yourself, o reader ! those desolate scenes when the *Kashmiri Muslims* had to lay down their lives ! None save those who have seen such can fully realise their horrors. No imagination is powerful enough to realise them; the waste, hopeless aspect of the unbounded stretch of snow; the intirely keen blast of the wind, which strikes you with the force of an eagle's wing as it sweeps down upon you through the ravines. Above and around you are snowy peaks and summits, and preceptious slopes of rock, upon whose edges sits the avalaunche waiting for his prey.

Through such scenes, heavily laden, the *Kashmiris* take their way. Powerful and hardy are the sons of *Kashmir*. Patiently they toil onward through the drifting snow, in the name of Allah and his Prophet : Many encorage each other with words of hope. It may be that they will yet reach the other side in safety. Alas, no ! From two or three the strength is already departing, and the keen wind is paralysing the sinews.

Slowly the conviction fastens upon them that they shall never quit those frightful solitudes, never see

again their homes, nor those who dwelt there waiting their return, far off in the sunny vale of *Kashmir*.

Who dare realise such thoughts such moments ?

Let us leave the scene of death. But oh, reader ! Forget not that these and other frightful miseries are produced by a government whose chief is a feudatory of the *British* crown; by a government which derives its permanance from the protection of the *British* rule; by a government which the *British* power forced upon the people of *Kashmir*; by a government into whose hands *British* statesmen sold the people of *Kashmir*, by a government, therefore, whose existence is disgrace to the *British* nation. It is at once a memorial of that foul act, when, like the arch traitor of old, we bartered innocent lives, which fate placed in our hands, for a few pieces of silver.

And it is a standing witness that we accept that act of the past, now that its consequences have been, and take the burden of its responsibility upon ourselves.

Now, whereas the *British* have themselves admitted that they have been guilty of crimes against humanity, it is demanded that:

(a) the Government of *England*, apologise for the crimes mentioned above, before the United Nations.

(b) the people of *England*, express sorrow for the above mentioned crimes, through press, radio and platform.

As for as the innocent people of *Kashmir* are concerned, they will hold public trial of all these, who were responsible for selling them, for inflicting miseries on

them, for taking their lands, wealth and produce, for murdering them, and other crimes committed against them.

Now, let us continue our narration of the miserable tale of atrocities, crimes and punishments.

The *Kashmiris*, both *Muslims* and *Hindu*, are meat-eaters. While the *Muslims* eat flesh of ox, bull, cow, the *Hindus* abhor it, and only eat flesh of goat or sheep. The reason for their being meat eaters is that the valley of *Kashmir* is a cold country.

After subjugation of *Kashmir*, *Gulab Dogra* issued orders regarding banning of eating beef. But the *Muslims*, especially from the rural areas would kill an ox, bull, or cow.

The Punishment for killing a cow-used formerly to be death, but on account, I believe, of the remonstrances of the *British* Government; it was changed to imprisonment for life. The method however, of carrying out the mitigated sentence renders it scarcely more merciful than the capital penalty.

Denial of Justice:

The *Hindu* vengeance does not only fall upon the actual cow-killer himself, but on the whole of his family. All who in any way participated, in or were cognizant of the act are imprisoned with him also for life. After each day's investigation into the circumstances of the so-called crime, they are cruelly flogged, and when consigned to prison, are branded and tortured with hot irons. Insufficient food, and general cruel treatment hasten their deaths, before which there has been, I believe no instance of anyone connected with the slaughter of cow having been released. But no formal sentence is

pronounced in any case when imprisonment is awarded, whether for small offence or great ones.

The offender is sent to prison, and neither he nor any one else knows how long he may be kept there. Possibly there are many who have been forgotten. All the offenders are, I am told, subjected to torture, but the actual delinquent more severely than the others.

Of justice, there is, in fact, little or none. Offences against the Government or against the *Hindus* are punished with under severity, while offences perpetrated by *Hindus* or Government Officials are either passed over, or adjudicated with partiality and injustice. There has, indeed, been recently established in *Srinagar* a new court for the trial of petty offences and misdemeanours, consisting of five *Suni Muslims* two *Shia Muslims* and three *Hindu Pandits*; this seems a fair distribution of religious bias. But, their power can only extend to about ten *chilkee* rupees fine, nor does their court in any way interfere with the power of the Chief Magistrate to imprison whoever he please for any cause or no cause !

An insolvent debtor is usually handed over by the Court to the creditor to serve as slave.

Law and Order:

Before the advent of *British* visitors this year (1869) a number of prisoners were, I believe sent in batches from the *Srinagar* gaols to *Jammu*. Let the number of prisoners, and the causes of their punishment, should be ascertained and commented upon by the *European* community. This however, I cannot vouch for although I believe it to be perfectly true.

The system of the city police resemble that of the land-tax system, in the number of different grades of officials, and consequent facilities for bribery and intimidation which it affords. There is a Chowkidar under him. He reports to the Sub-Kotwal, the Sub-Kotwal to the Head-Kotwal, and the last named functionary to the Chief Magistrate. If the subordinates bring a false accusation against a family or an individual, the latter will sometimes escape punishment; but their accusers are unpunished for the crime of false accusation.

The tax on the sale of land is enormously high, being 4 *annas* in the rupee, exclusive of the necessary *douceur* to the clerks, who are, of course, *Pandits*. A marriage licence costs three rupees and about a rupee more is taken by the *Pandits*. In case of a second or third marriage, in the case of the first wife or wives being alive, great difficulties are thrown in the way of the *Muslim* by those officials, unless they are properly bribed. It appears that their opinion as to the advisability of permitting a second marriage is consulted in many cases by the Magistrate. Sometimes the licence is refused unless payment of Rs.100 or more is made. In short, in this, as in most other matters these is no law but will of the Magistrate.

Exploitation of the Poor:

All classes of the *Muslim* community are tax-payers except the tailors. Even the boatman, whose pay is only Rs. 2-8 a month, is taxed. Perhaps the poorest and worst off all, except some of the *shawl-bags*, are a class of people who live along the shores of the Anchar Lake, not far from the city. They subsist on the sale for what they can procure from the lake, consisting of a coarse kind of grass

for cattle, reeds which they weave into matting and fish, which by a very recent order they are permitted to catch and sell.

For the privilege thus making use of the lake, they pay a considerable yearly tax to the *Maharaja*. It was impossible to ascertain with any degree of certainty of what the amount was. But that are in a state of extreme wretchedness and poverty and that the *Maharaja* takes a considerable sum of money from them annually, is certainly true, I went into some of the cottages and found them in as miserable a condition as the appearance of the people outside betokened; windowless fireless, lightless, and bare :

Some children and others were shown to me suffering from different diseases. I gave them what I could, and told them to come to my house in *Srinagar*, so that I would take them to a hospital. They never came; they seem quite hopeless and unable to believe that any one would even do anything for them. Their food is only rice, and the coarse vegetables they produce in their gardens. The only fuel they can procure is dried horse dung ! And these people pay taxes !

There is no lack, of fuel in this country. All round the shores of the Wular lake, magnificent forests of deodar are flourishing in luxuriant strength and beauty, but the heavy duties on wood, as on all other things which are brought into the city or its precincts, render the poorer classes utterly unable to obtain it.

And now, before closing this long list miseries and atrocities, there is yet one other misery and atrocity and one other iniquitous source from which the *Dogra Maharaja* derives his revenue, which I shall present for consideration of the reader.

Revenue from sale of Women:

It is strange that one considerable item of revenue to the *Maharaja* is derived from a traffic, which most governments endeavour to condeal, due to shame attached with it. Sale of girls, prostitution and traffic in women flourishes openly and avowedly in *Kashmir*. Arthur Brikman describes it as under:

The class engaged in it are owned as slaves and others, who were formerly in their position. The authority of the latter is backed by the whole power of the *Dogra Maharaja*, to whom reverts at their death all the wealth gathered by the prostitutes, during their infamous life. Should one of their bondwomen or dancing girl attempt to leave her degrading proffession, she is driven back with the lash and the rod into her mistress's power. These facts are certain.

Here is an *Indian* native prince, fit to be decorated, by the *British* Government in *India*, with the medal ! The star of *India* ! As the owner of the whole *Kashmiri* nation, he sucks his riches from their life-blood, and stoops to draw a degrading revenue by pandering to their vices. Each nauch girl dances in his service; every cajollery she bestows on her admirers, every gift she extorts from their liberality, is for the benefit of the *Dogra Maharaja*.

The sale of young girls in *Kashmir* to established houses of ill-fame, is both protected and encouraged by the Government. It helps to swell that part of his revenue which the *Maharaja* derives from the wages of prostitution. The license granting permission to purchase a girl for this purpose, costs about 103 *chilkee* rupees. An additional payment is, I believe, made to Government when

the unfortunate victim enters her miserable career. The very fact that such sales take place is due to the grasping and avaricious nature of the Government, since none but the very poorest and lowest classes of the people ever sell their children. The only classes of the people who sell their children are certain of the villages who are shoe makers and workers in leather. The other *Muslims* of *Kashmir* consider them, to be a low and degraded race and will not eat with them. I once asked, 'what could induce the women to sell her child and was answered, 'poverty' but no *Muslim* of any other class would do such a thing, he would rather starve !

It is with a Government as with an individual, one crime stands not alone, but it is the fruitful parent of hundred more. Sale of children is a consequence of poverty which is produced first, by extreme taxation; and second, by the high prices of all kinds of food, which is caused by the system of taking the land produce into their own store houses, by the government of *Maharaja*.

Those maidens who have been sold into prostitution, can not ever quit that life. Should they desire to do so, since they cannot, of course, raise money to repay to their purchaser either the price paid for them or the license tax to government of the *Maharaja*.

It is many years ago since others, who had not been sold, were nevertheless, prohibited by Government from relinquishing their frarful calling. They were refused permission to marry, for the same reason as the *shawl-bafs* are still prevented from turning to other employment, namely the loss of the high taxes which these the unfortunate classes of the people pay Government. Some of the dancing girls pay 80 and 100 *chilkee* rupees a year. I am told that these unfortunate females are now permitted to

marry, and turn to a better and happier life if they wish to do so. But there can be no certainly, scarcely probability that the *Maharaja*, who continues to derive revenues from the kind of 'sales' I have described, will not withdraw this permission and enforce its former barbarous order.

I know of one instance in which a women who entreated the officers to be allowed to marry and lead a virtuous life, was refused permission to do so. She attempted to fly with a man she wished to marry, but was prevented or brought back, and is now what she was before. I believe this took place only three years ago, and similar barbarity may again be perpetrated at any moment.

As in *Kashmir*, the *Maharaja* had parcelled out lands as jagirs in *Jammu* region, among the *Rajput Dogras*. These people were used as mercenaries in his military forces and their lands were tilled by *Lubana Sikhs*, *Jats* and *Brahmibs*. These land-lords extorted money from their tenants, in many ways. Besides this, every maiden before her marriage had to sleep with the land-lord or his sons. It is also a fact that the girls from the lower classes were not only sold as maid-servants but used as concubines also. The *Maharaja* himself kept concubines and his example was followed by his kith and kin.

I will offer no word of comment upon these things. The facts speak eloquently enough for themselves. If they fail to arouse pity and indignation and horror in the hearts of readers, that class of people must have changed their nature since I left the civilised world eithteen minths ago to travel in the *Himalayas*.

In his speech while dealing with the downfall of the *Sikh* kingdom of the *Punjab*, *Sardar Budh Singh*, one of the foremost freedom fighter of *Kashmir*, stated as under:

Some of the paid historians, have tried their utmost to hide facts, and represent *Gulab Singh* as an angel. But all historians can not kill their conscience. There are numerous boks available in various libraries in *India* and *England*, which reveal facts about the disgraceful transaction relating to the sale of *Kashmir*. Is it not a fact that not only the *Sikh* kingdom of the *Punjab*, was destroyed through treachery, but the *State* of *Jammu* and *Kashmir* was obtained through sale, resulting in the slavery of Northern *India*.

We are human beings and have every right to live as human beings. It is shameful as how the *Sikh* Government was destroyed and this paradise on earth, its rivers and mountains, were sold by a *British* dacoit for 50

lakhs. This sale deed is not a legal document, because there can not be any legal transaction between two thieves or cut-throats. *Kashmir* is not the property of the father of anybody; it is the property of the *Kashmiris*.

Gulab Singh known popularly as *Gulaboo* was probably born in 1792 at *Jammu*. His father, *Kishora Singh* was a petty peasant of impoverished means and they belonged to a clan of mercenaries. *Gulabnama* which is an official biography of *Gulab Singh*, places him in the *Jammu* ruling family of *Ranjit Dev*, which appears to be an afterthought. The descendants of *Ranjit Dev* died as refugees in the *Punjab*. According to *Cunningham*, the family of *Kishora Singh* was perhaps an illegitimate branch. Such branches started from concubines. *Gulab Singh* had two brothers, namely, *Dhiyan Singh* and *Suchet Singh*. He took service as a horseman under *Jamadar Khushal Singh*, who was favourite of *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*. *Gulaboo* sent for his brother *Dhiyan Singh* and they both became personal attendants of the *Maharaja* at a subsistence allowance of three rupees per month. They steadily increased their grip of influence over the *Maharaja*, who became so much enamoured of the family that he showered wealth on them. The *British* have accused *Ranjit Singh* of personal licentiousness and vices. He is said to have become a slave of the beauty of *Dhiyan Singh* and *Hira Singh*. Report of General *Charles Napier* on the military occupation of *India*, November 27, 1840 (N.I.A.) scandalises the rise of the *Dogra* Chief from "catamite to cabinet minister and finally to a throne."

Gulab Singh was utilised by the *Maharaja* for subjugation of the Chieftans of *Jammu*, *Riasi*, *Rajuri*, and *Kishtwar*. In fact the *Maharaja* had tried to subdue *Raja Jit Singh* of *Jammu* in 1808, but the *Sikhs*, were

defeated by the *Dogras*. The *Maharaja* waited for some opportune time to annex the principality of *Jammu* and this opportunity came with the death of *Raja Jit Singh*, and *Jammu* was annexed by the *Sikhs*. As ordered by the *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, *Gulab Singh* was deputed to annex *Riasi*. He succeeded in supressing the people of *Riasi* and defeated *Bhup Dev* and *Mian Didoo*, who had raised the banner of revolt against the *Sikh* interference in their territories. *Gulab Singh* could not succeed in capturing the above leaders but he was fortunate to catch hold of *Manawar joo*, one of the leadears, of the people, who was hanged by him. *Riasi*, having been subdued, *Gulab Singh* was ordered to conquer *Rajouri*, which he did by defeating and arresting *Raja Asgar Khan* or *Rajouri*, who was sent to *Lahore*. The Chief of the rebels, *Mian Didoo*, had created havoc in the *Jammu* area. He did not like the sovereignty of the *Sikh* Kingdom over *Jammu*. He was both brave and daring, and had inflicted defeat on the *Sikh* forces, several times. Having collected a band of brave soldiers, he lived in forests and engaged himself in gurila activities. Accordingly *Gulab Singh* was detailed to arrest him. A huge force was given to him for this purpose. Besides this all feudatories in the hilly regions were ordered to help *Gulab Singh*. *Gulab Singh* accompanied by *Sardar Attar Singh Kal*, *Sardar Jagat Singh Attariwala* and tow accomplices of *Mian Didoo*, namely *Diwanoo* and *Chaboo*, went in search of the rebel leaders, who was found in *Katra*. He was encircled by the *Sikh* forces but could not capture him alive. Fired at, *Mian Didoo* fell on the ground, unconscious with his sword in his hand. *Gulab Singh* ordered that his head be cut. He was still alive when his head was severed from his throat. *Gulab Singh Dogra* sent this head to *Lahore* to be presented before his master. He

had proved that he could massacre his own *Dogra* brothers, to prove that he was most faithful and loyal to *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, who became happy to see the head of Mian Didoo.

The idea of conquering *Kishtwar* had occurred to the *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, at the time of his conquest of *Kashmir* in 1819, but he could not execute his designs due to his pre-occupation. *Gulab Singh* was ordered to undertake the conquest of *Kishtwar*, which was ruled by *Raja Mohammad Teg Singh* at that time. His Chief Minister *Dewan Lakhpat* was in league with *Gulab Singh*. It was through his convenience and support of other petty chieftans that *Gulab Singh* succeeded in subduing the *Raja*. His three sons, namely *Jai Mal Singh*, *Zorawar Singh* and *Dilawar Singh*, continued their struggle for sometime, but failed in their attempts to capture the throne of *Kishtwar*. They were arrested and done away with. Thus *Kishtwar* also became a part of the *Sikh* Kingdom of *Lahore*, through the efforts of *Gulab Singh*. In lieu of their faithful services both *Gulab Singh* and *Dhiyan Singh* were favoured by the *Maharaja* with jagirs. Their third brother *Suchet Singh*, also became a favourite of the *Maharaja*, and he also obtained a jagir for himself. Thus the three brothers became the most influential triob in the *Sikh*-Kingdom and they exercised full ascendancy over the aged Lion of the *Punjab*, till his death.

It was in 1822 that the *Maharaja Ranjit Singh* is reported to have granted the *Chakla* of *Jammu* to *Gulab Singh* and his descendants as a reward for the services rendered by him and his brothers. *Chakla* means the tract of land given as jagir by master to his servant. *Raja Sultan Khan*, or the ruler of *Bhimber* was a sworn enemy of the *Sikhs*, and had refused to accept the overlord-

ship of the *Maharaja*. *Gulab Singh* was ordered to deal with this man and arrest him. *Sultan Khan* was invited to *Jammu* by *Gulab Singh* and imprisoned in the Bahu-fort. Later he was blinded by *Raja Gulab Singh* and transferred to the *Gajpat* fort, where he died and is buried.

Despite his high position, *Gulab Singh* was a feudatory of the *Sikh* Kingdom and he could hold this position during the pleasure and will of the *Punjab*. As such *Gulab Singh*, wished to achieve the position of a defacto ruler of his master's possessions. In the year 1830 the Governor General, Hastings, visited *Lahore*, and expressed his wish to visit *Kashmir*. Accordingly *Maharaja Ranjit Singh* issued necessary orders to *Gulab Singh* to look after all arrangements for transport and reception. After the tour, *Gulab Singh* was granted certificates of merit by the Governor General for excellent arrangements. This was his chance to come into direct contact with the *British* rulers, and he must have visualised that in order to achieve his aims, there could be no better powerful masters than the *British*. He had to wait for the opportunity and that came with the death of the *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*.

There is no denying the fact that after the death of the *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, a strong pro-*British* party had entrenched itself in the *Sikh* Court, under the leadership of the *Dogra* brothers. Various claimants to the throne had offered alluring terms to the *British* and sought their help and support, even at cession of their territories. But *Maharaja Jind Kaur* was a woman of determined courage and her chief aim was to secure throne for her son and face the designs of the *British*. She succeeded in effecting a revolution, which resulted in the death of *Hira Singh*. But she was no match for *Gulab Singh* had cast his eyes on *Kashmir* and he was impatient to invite the *British*.

The English Newswriter, Bhai *Ram Singh* informed the *British* on January, 1845, that *Gulab Singh* was ready to furnish a written agreement "Stipulating in return for our aid to cede the possessions of the *Lahore* Government on the south side of the Sutledge, and fifty lacs of rupees." The aim of the pro-*British* party was to prompt the *Maharani Jind Kour* to escape to the *British* territory along with her minor son or ask for *British* intervention. The *Maharani* never wanted to destroy herself or her son and as such, refused to be a victim of the pro-*British* faction. Hence the conspiracy changed their tactics and instigated the unfuly *Sikh* forces to cross the river *Sutluj*, telling them that the *British* wanted annexation of the *Punjab*. In fact, the *British* regarded the *Punjab* as a fruit which when ripe, would automatically fall into their mouth, the pro-*British* party succeeded in urging the troops to attack the *British*, but its Commander in Chief, *Tej Singh* and head of the executive, *Gulab Singh*, were in treacherous conspiracy with the *British*. The *Maharaja* cautioned against such a step saying that 'in the event of a clash with the *British*, the Government of *Maharaja Dalip Singh* was likely to suffer, *Diwan Dina Nath* and *Fakir Aziz-u-din* supporting her views.' The die was cast and the *Sikh* crossed the *Satluj* in December 11, 1845. In each battle, the commanders betrayed their own men. *Lal Singh* and *Tej Singh* fled from the field leaving the bewildered soldiers encircled by the *British* guns. But more dangerous than the treachery of commanders in the battle field was the political intrigue of *Gulab Singh*, who had sold himself and his master to the *British*.

In contrast with the treacherous conduct of their leaders, the *Sikh* soldiers fought desperately and destroyed themselves with swords in their hands. The

British were victorious in the battle of Sobroan which was fought on February 10, 1846. A few days later *Lord Hardinge* received *Gulab Singh* to hear the peace terms, which were subsequently embodied in the Treaty of *Lahore*. *Hardinge* and *Gulab Singh* became the arbitrators of the fate of the *Sikh* Kingdom and naturally they did, what was in their minds long before the advent of the conflict.

It was declared as the *Punjab* Kingdom could not pay the fine of Rs. One crore the territory of *Kashmir*, nad the adjoining hilly regions be sold to *Gulab Singh Dogra*, for the amount which was later on reduced to Rs. Seventy-five lakhs.

It is a controversial point as to whether any amount was actually paid and adjusted in the books of the *East India* Company, or whether it was simply an eye wash for the *Indians*. There is no authentic receipt available, except one piece of paper purported to be a rough draft, found in the railway records of the Record Office, *Lahore*. The *East India* Company was a commercial organisation also and as such all amounts paid or received were accounted for into registers. There is no register bearing the entry of One Crore or Seventy-five lakh of rupees anywhere.

The sale of *Kashmir* and its people to the *Dogra* family of *Jammu* by the *British*, shall ever remain in a black blot on their character and integrity. Posterity shall never pardon the then *British* rulers of *India* for selling a nation for some pieces of silver. The *Kashmiris* would not like *England* and its people to be sold to some one for a price.

“ Not only the Rulers of *Jammu* and *Kashmir* ruined their poor subject with the burden of heavy

taxes and inefficient officers, they did not care a fig for their education. That wealth which was accumulated by sucking their blood, is spent on furnishing the royal palaces, in pursuit of song and luxury and for the serving of the *British*, and nothing is spent out of it for education of the subjects."

The *Muslims* had remained backward in education, trade and in everything and in the enchanting scenery of heaven, their life had become a hell.

"The enchanting scenery of *Kashmir*, green fields and valleys, its forests and rivers, are such bounty of nature, which have not been bestowed in other country. But this heaven has become a hell for its residents. Devoid of education and freedom, they cannot take advantage of natural blessings. The land which appears to be a heaven for outsiders is nothing less than a hell for its residents. Out of total population of 31 lakhs, the *Muslims* are 24 lakhs but as regards education even 100 persons cannot be found out of them. The state exists on the shoulders of these 24 lakh *Muslims* and their hard earned money fulfills the *State* treasury, but their share in administration is nil." !

Disgraceful Act of the *British* :

At the present time we are all indulging in a harmless, but not very dignified species of self-glorification about the Abyssinian War. The press is full of laudatory notices of *England's* conduct on this great occasions. We read of 'pure and holy motives, of 'disinterested action,' a righteous struggle for the noblest ends. A good opinion of self is, no doubt, as gratifying to a nation as it is to an individual. Nevertheless, one cannot but be rather feebly reminded of the old proverb, that self-praise is no praise.

Foreign nations who read our numerous self-congratulatory expressions on having for once achieved an unselfish public action, may feel tempted to say that such a course must be somewhat an unusual one with us. Its adoption provokes us to trumpet our own praises to all the four quarters of the globe in a style that might have described some heroic and unequal struggle of a whole nation in defence of hearth and alter, or of a weak ally to whom her word was pledged. Perhaps no stronger internal evidence than this outburst of self-laudation for the performance of an act which it would have been simply disgraceful not to have done, could be found to remind to us that our character as a nation has sunk from what it was. There was a time, not so very long ago, when we, almost single handed, resisted the oppressor of *Europe*, and through the terrible campaign of the peninsula, gave freely the lives of our best and dearest, that we might at last be able to say to Despotism, "thus far, and no further." There was a time when we, first of nations, led the way to the abolitio of slavery, and at a loss and sacrifice which we felt to be an evil and a shame from amongst us.

Moral Power :

At that time *England* was looked up to as the one power whose public actions were based upon other than selfish considerations. She was honoured as the nation who would finch from no sacrifice and from the danger to fulfill a noble object, or defend sacred cause. She was then undoubtedly the first of natios in the world. Her voice was first in the coundils of *Europe*; her opinion on all great questions was waited for with eagerness, and heard with reverence. What is her position now ? Others better

qualified than I may answer that question. But whatever be her position in regard to power, influence, authority, no one can have the hardihood to assert that she has any longer the moral power and dignity that were once accorded her in the days when the 'moral support' of *England* was something more than an empty sound.

No one can imagine that she retains the character of a generous and high-minded nation, so far as her public conduct is concerned.

Perhaps she does not care whether she retains it or not, but the frantic delight into which she seem to have been thrown by having actually done something which she need not be ashamed of, would seem to indicate the contrary. It induces me to entertain a faint hope that she still retains a sufficient regard for 'pure and holy motives' to induce her to perform that act of justice and mercy which such motives call upon her to undertake in behalf of the people of *Kashmir*, whom, in the year 1846, she sold into a slavery.

That such is the true light in which the question of interference with the *Dogra Maharaja's* Government ought to be viewed, it is now my task to show.

Sale of *Kashmir*:

Kashmir was sold to *Gulab Singh* under the following circumstances :-

By the conditions made with the *Lahore* Durbar, after the first *Punjab* War, a certain sum of money was demanded by the *British* Government to defray the expenses of the campaign. But the Durbar being unable to refund the full amount, it was resolved to take *Kashmir* and certain neighbouring hill States in lieu of the deficiency,

and to transfer these to *Gulab Singh* for an equivalent sum. This arrangement presented the further advantage of reducing the power of the *Sikhs*, and of gaining *Gulab Singh* as our ally.

There were certain other considerations which give that transaction a peculiarly odious aspect, and render it a dark stain upon the history of the *British* rule in *India*. These are :

Forced Ruler:

First, that in no portion of the treaty made with *Gulab Singh* was the slightest provision made for the just or humane Government of the people of *Kashmir* and others, upon whom we forced a Government which they detested. For purposes entirely selfish, we deliberate sold millions of human beings into the absolute power of one of the meanest, most avaricious cruel and unprincipled of men that sat upon a throne.

Second that after our expulsion from *Kabul*, and the murder of *Shah Shujah*, a Government "Proclamation" was issued that *Dost Mohammad's* accession to the throne was sanctioned by the *British* Government because principle and policy alike forbade that power to force a ruler upon a reluctant people. Five years had passed when, by the treaty of the 16th March, 1846, we had vainly sought to hide our weakness when *Dost Mohammed* regained his rightful kingdom.

It was contrary to our principle to force a ruler upon the wild and turbulent *Afghans*, to whom would not have suffered any ruler to oppress them with impunity. But *Hardinge* and *Henry Lawrence* failed to perceive that there was aught unjustifiable in forcing upon them with the weak and unresisting people of *Kashmir*, not a ruler who,

like our *Afghan* puppet, was of the same race, the same religion, the same people those upon whom we sought to impose him. But we forced one of a creed between which and that of *Islam* the most deeply rooted antipathies exist, rendering any sympathy, or any cordiality, or ever, impossible, between the governing and governed classes.

Hungry Vultures:

Nor was it a ruler only whom we forced upon a reluctant people, but the crowd of rapacious and unprincipled ministers courtiers, hangers on of every grade who followed the fortune, of *Gulab Singh*. These, raised like himself from the lowest classes, and invested with the titles of *Diwan*, *Wazir*, *Tehsildars* etc. descended upon *Kashmir* like a flock of hungry vultures. They swept away the prosperity and happiness of its people, and their descendants are worthy of their ancestors. The *Diwans*, *Tehsildars*, *Thanedars* etc. who rule *Kashmir*, are as a rule, avaricious, mean and cruel; wholly untrustworthy, and powerless apparently to conceive of the ideas of truth and justice. Finally, we did not, as in the case of our *Afghan* interference, force upon *Kashmir* a ruler who was to govern by our advice, and was bound to attend to our suggestions, but one whom, by the terms of the treaty, we rendered irresponsible for any outrage or injustice he or his ministers might choose to commit with regard to the internal administration of the country.

The third consideration which makes the sale of *Kashmir* yet more iniquitous, is the character of the man into whose absolute power we sold the people of that country.

Dogra Army Repulsed:

After the investment of *Gulab Singh* as *Maharaja* at *Amritsar*, he sent some regiments to take possession of *Srinagar* and to take over the forts, etc. from *Shaikh* Imam-u-din. Whether the *Sheikh* had received information from the *Lahore* Durbar regarding the change of masters which *Kashmir* had suffered it is impossible to say. At all events he refused to admit *Gulab Singh's* forces into the city or to acknowledge their master as having any authority in *Kashmir*. Upon the refusal of the *Dogras* to quit the valley, the gallant *Sheikh* sailed forth at the head of his troops. An engagement was sought at the back of the *Hari Singh* Bagh, in which the *Dogras* were completely routed, and one or two leaders of note were killed. A large number of prisoners were taken to whom the *Kashmiris* say, the *Sheikh* gave money and clothing to enable them to reach the *Punjab*. That in a few day's time there was not a single *Dogra* left in the valley. When news of this event reached *Gulab Singh*, he applied to the *British* Government for assistance to enable him to take possession of his new kingdom. An order was sent to the *Sheikh* by the *British* requiring him yield obedience to the new sovereign of *Kashmir*, or to consider himself as an enemy of the *British* Power. The *Sheikh* wisely chose the former alternative, and *Gulab Singh's* troops were permitted to occupy *Srinagar* in peace.

From that period, the misfortunes and miseries of *Kashmir* commenced. The change of coin, the increased taxation, the increased prices, the shutting up of the kotas, the mismanagement and oppression of the *Dagh-Shawl*, the restrictions in the amount of rice purchasable yearly by *Shawl-bafs*, the consequent order that no *shawl* of

sada-baf might leave either his employment or the *Kashmir* valley, and similar orders regarding the nautch girls.

All these miseries and atrocities date from the commencement of the iniquitous reign of *Gulab Singh*.

The *Sheikh* Imam-u-din was a *Muslim*, and had been I am told, appointed Governor of *Kashmir* by *Sher Singh*. Under his rule the country was well and justly governed. The *shawl-bafs* and other classes were allowed to purchase as much rice as they required, nor were any of the people hindered from leaving the valley. From his beneficent Government we took *Kashmir* and plunged it into all the miseries which it has since suffered.

The *Kashmiries*, in speaking of these things, do not seem animated with any unjust or undue feeling against the *Maharaja* himself; and in speaking of the misfortunes of their country, the well informed amongst them always date their origin from the alteration of the old coin by *Gulab Singh*.

Oppressive Rule:

The manner in which that was carried out paved the way for all the oppression of which I have given an account. That they always say was the beginning of evil administration under which they suffer, nor do I, except as far as the ignorance of a ruler regarding the people under him involves a neglect of sacred duties and responsibilities amounting to guilt. The immediate criminality rests with the executive officers throughout *Kashmir* and its dependant states, but I believe, in a much higher degree with the ministers who are located at *Jammu*.

Let us pause there for a moment to review our position. I have, I think, conclusively shown that the

cry of oppression in *Kashmir*, so far from being nonsensical, as was falsely declared by the *Calcutta* Englishman of 12th February, 1868, has but too good cause for its efforts to obtain a hearing-efforts which would seem to have been hitherto in vain, alike in their appeal to the justice of the *British* Government, and the humanity of the *Anglo-Indian* public.

I have also shown that we deliberately forced upon a more than 'reluctant' people, and despotic government of the very worst description, at whose head was a ruler of a character held infamous, even by natives of the East.

I have, therefore, I conceive, shown that towards the people of *Kashmir* we have committed a wanton outrage, a gross injustice, and an act of tyrannical oppression, which violates every human and honourable sentiment, which is opposed to the whole spirit of modern civilisation, and is in direct opposition to every tenet of the religion we profess.

It remains for us to ascertain whether reparation towards those whom we have thus injured be still possible without the committing of any fresh piece of injustice.

There are instances in which the *Jammu* Government has violated the treaty of 1846; but there is another of more recent occurrence, and which is not generally known in *India*, and of which the home authorities must be in total ignorance.

Dominions of the *Maharaja*:

In accordance with Article II of the Treaty, three officers were appointed by the *British* Government to

Survey and determine the 'limits of the eastern boundary of the tract transferred to the *Maharaja*. These were, *Major Cunningham Lieutenant Strachery and Dr. Thompson*. The map therefore, published by *Major Cunningham* with his work on *Ladakh* may be considered to show correctly, not only to eastern boundary, but the limits of these other portions of the *Maharaja*, dominions which he helped to survey, as they existed at the time such survey was made.

Boundries :

The north-eastern boundary of the *Maharaja's* dominion is defined in *Major Cunningham's* map to be the watershed of the *Kara-Koram* range. Even without the authority of that map, I am justified in assuming that to have been the north-eastern biundary of the *Jammu* territories, both because it is the natural boundary of the country of Nubra and its northern valley and ravines and because the *Kara-Koram* has always been considered as the farthest limit of the *Ladakh* district by the *Yarkandis*, who dwell on the other side. However in 1865, the *Jammu* Government despatched a small body of troops across the *Kara-Koram*, with orders to occupy garrisoned fort there, which was done.

Shah-dula is about three day's journey beyond the *Kara-Koram* pass. The fort was provisioned and occupied by the *Dogra* troops during the summer of 1865 and 1866, the force being withdrawn in the winter on account of severity of the climate. Towards the end of 1866 the newly established ruler of *Yarkand* and *Kashgar* had taken the country of *Khetan* and had further strengthened himself by the expulsion or concilation of those who were

disaffected towards the Government. It was therefore probably from prudential motives that the *Dogra* troops were not sent to re-occupy their new fort in the spring of 1867.

Sometime during that year, Yaqub Beg sent a handful of men to *Shah'dula*, who destroyed the fort and took the supplies and stores with which it was furnished. The latest from *Yarkand* say that the *Kooshbeg* endeared himself to his subject by the strict justice of his administration and by abolition of the above market, which was formerly held in the *Yarkand bazar*. He is said to be engaged in massing his forces at Kashgar, his frontier town, distant about seven marches from *Kokand*, which is occupied by the *Russians*.

It is true that a Government map has recently been published which shows the boundary line of the *Maharaja's* territory in this direction to lie-along the *Kara-Kash River*, and which consequently includes *Shah'dula* within the *Maharaja's* dominions. But this map was not published until the end of 1866, whereas the *Maharaja's* force went to *Shah'dula* and erected and garrisoned the fort in the Spring of 1865, or earlier. The existence of this map, therefore, cannot be pleaded as having given the *Dogra* Government any authority for such extension of territory.

The map in question was founded upon a survey made by *Johnson* in the year 1865, after the occupation of *Shah'dula* by the *Dogra* garrison. The boundary line therein laid down is entirely at variance with that shown in the map which accompanies *Cunningham's* work on *Ladakh*, which was published by the Government authority in 1866.

The fact then remains, that the Treaty of March, 1846 has been in several instances broken by the *Maharaja* Government. It, therefore, follows that the *British* Government is not bound by that Treaty to abstain from that interference with the affairs of *Kashmir*, which the miserable condition of the people, the impediments thrown in the way of traders, the exclusion of *European* travellers etc. have now for so long demanded. Not only are *British* tourists, sportsmen, scientific men etc. excluded from the *Maharaja's* dominions during six months of the year, but *British* and French traders also, although native traders from the *Punjab* and elsewhere pass unquestioned. Of course, all the natives of the hill states, and possibly many of the *Punjab* itself, explain this extraordinary fact by supposing that the *British* Government is unable or afraid to demand from the *Kashmir Raja*, that which common courtesy would seem to require from him. Is it very improbable that the insolence and outrages of the frontier tribes have been increased, or in some instances, caused, by this mistaken estimate of our position with regard to the *Maharaja* of *Kashmir* ? An estimate which the Government of *India* does its best to foster, by not only excluding all its servants from the *Dogra* dominions during the winter but by limiting the number of those who wish to travel there during the summer.

Iniquitous and *Mong* Treaty:

It may be pleaded by the supporters of the *Maharaja*, that the countries of *Gilgit*, *Chilas* and *Astor* were annexed by his father many years ago, and that no notice having been taken at the time, it would now be an ungracious act on the part of the *British* Government to

make such infringement of the Treaty to a ground for interference. With regard to the matter of the *Shah'dula* fort, it may be urged that so slight an aggression into a barren and deserted region can scarcely constitute an infraction of the Treaty sufficient to justify the interference of the *British* Government with the *Maharaja's* internal administration.

To these and similar considerations the following answers appear to be sufficient :

(a) that the Government of the *Maharaja* has shown itself incapable of just or humane rule.

(b) that the Government of the *Maharaja* has for many years pursued a system of oppression and misrule under the protection and countenance of the *British* Government.

(c) This has consequently become a stigma and a reproach to the *British* Government, both among the *European* and native community of *India*.

(d) That there are no means of rendering the administration of the *Maharaja* consonant with that which should distinguish a power protected by the *British* Government except those of active interference.

(e) That the *British* Government committed an act of gross injustice in forcing the rule of *Gulab Singh* upon a reluctant people.

(f) That, therefore, to forego the power of making reparation to the people we injured, which the infractions of the Treaty give to the *British* Government, would be an act of injustice and cruelty scarcely inferior to that which we perpetrated when we sold the people of *Kashmir*

into the slavery of *Gulab Singh* by the iniquitous Treaty of 1846.

In a word, we cannot exercise generosity towards the *Maharaja* without committing a fresh injustice towards the people to whom we owe reparation.

Anglo-Russian Interests:

With regard to the matter of the *Shah'dula* fort, it should be remembered that, although a slight instance in itself, yet little things have sometimes led to great wars. Since by article IX of the Treaty, the *British* Government is to protect the *Maharaja* against all external enemies, it is obvious that such little encroachments as that of *Shah'dula* might plunge us into war with all the *Muslim* states of *Central Asia*. The *Pall Mall Gazette* remarks, without any particular comment : "We that it has just been ruled that the *Maharaja* is at liberty believe to hold whatever foreign relations he may care to entertain without reference to us." Evidently, the *Pall Mall Gazette* must be totally ignorant of the nature of the Treaty of 1846. Since a glance at article IX will convince any one that, if the *Maharaja* is permitted to enter into whatever foreign relations he may please to entertain, he may at any time plunge us into a war with *Turkistan*, or *Bukhara*, or with *Russia* herself.

Suppose, for example, that next year the *Maharaja* were to send a few troops to occupy a portion of the country beyond his *Gilgit* boundry. Suppose that *Russia* had conquered *Badakshan*, and concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the country and *Bokhara*. Suppose

that a force subsidized by a few regiments of *Kazaks* and *Kirghiz*, officered by *Russians*, was sent to chastise the *Jammu* Chief for this temerity by annexing to *Russia*, the *Bokhara* territory, say only *Gilgit* and *Astor*, and the Valley of the *Indus* so far as to include *Skardo*, we should have a pretty little mountain campaign cut out for us, with more formidable opponents than the aign cut out for us, with more formidable opponents than the undisciplined robbers of the *Hazara*, who are now giving us the trouble of beating them. It is possible that in the event of such a contingency, our home authorities would reconsider verdict, that the *Maharaja* has 'right to entertain that foreign relations he pleases etc. It may be as well to remember this that if the *Shah'dula* affair is not considered of sufficient importance to release us from whatever engagement of non-interference may be implied in Article I of the Treaty, we cannot at any future time plead that any similar act of aggression on the part of the *Maharaja* is a violation of the Treaty and sufficient importance to release us from our arrangements contained in Article IX by whcih we are bound to protect the *Maharaja's* Government against all external enemies.

It is to be hoped, however, that our relations with *Russia* will be those of peace, not war. We shall at no distant period, co-operate with her in spreading the blessing of civilisation and settled Government among oppressed people and savage tribes. Should such be our happy destiny, the importance of free trade and unrestricted transit through *Ladakh* and *Kashmir* must be evident enough.

We even do not see any reason for dissatisfaction in the possibility of our Central Asiatic frontier soon forming the boundary of the *Anglo-Indian* empire. Such a frontier would, at all events, determine the

commercial fields for the disposal of *British* and *Russian* product and would considerably weaken, if not altogether remove, all dangerous rivalry, and that the sale under such circumstances of *British* and *Russian* products would rapidly increase, is evident. The chief obstacles to trade in this region are the incessant depredations and rapacious exactions made by petty Asiatic despots.

All these drawbacks must at once disappear under *British* and *Russian* rule, and then an interchange of commodities will freely take place.

The expansions of the frontier to a mutual point of contract between *British* and *Russian* territory will decrease the chances of collision between *Russia* and *England*. It will also conduce to amity and a feeling of friendship between these countries, seeing region would be disadvantageous to both, and only lead to mutual losses.

Conclusions:

It is impossible to avoid drawing a mental contract between the careless indifference with which, on the occasion of the sale of *Kashmir*, the question of moral rights was complacently ignored both by the Government and the public, and the virtuous indignation into which it seems that a large party of the former and small proportion of the latter, are thrown at the idea of any transgression of legal right with regard to interference in the affairs of *Kashmir*.

That our failure in imbuing the natives of *India* with any regard for the spirit of Christianity has been almost complete, the conduct of the wealthy land owners of *Bengal* seems sufficiently to prove, I quote, from the *Friend of India* of the 20th August, 1868 :-

“ No language can be too strong to characterise the selfishness and apathy of the *zamindars* in the inundated districts to the south of Calcutta, and in Midnapore, as on the occasions of the cyclone of 1864, the Orissa famine of 1866, Nuddea inundations and the cyclone of 1867, the wealthy landholders of *Bengal* have been found wanting.”

There is only one question to be asked and answered, with regard to the work, and that is :- Are the statements here in contained concerning the *Dogra* true or untrue ? And there is only one method by which that question can be answered, namely, by the course which I have myself pursued of strict and laborious investigation in *Kashmir* itself.

Should that be done, as it is my earnest wish that it may be by a Government Commission, the truth or untruth of the charges I have brought against the *Maharaja* will be ascertained.

Of the futility of the *Maharaja*'s promises, there has been ample proof in the fact that none of these made to *Sir Robert Montgomery* in 1864, concerning reduction of duties, etc. were kept. The *Maharaja* affirmed that he had given orders to his officials to carry out the promises, but *Dr. Caylay*'s report from *Ladakh*, for the season of 1867, showed that no improvement upon the old system had been attempted.

The *Maharaja* is, therefore, unable to control his officers in *Ladakh*, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he is likewise unable to control them in *Kashmir* ! Nay, it is not just to suppose that the *Maharaja*'s officials in all parts of his dominions act systematically in defiance of their *Maharaja*'s officials in all parts of his orders and wishes since the *Maharaja* is represented as of a

humane and benevolent disposition, and desirous to promote the well being of the subjects for whom he feels himself responsible.

Then, the *Maharaja* is manifestly unable to carry out his intentions, how thankful he will doubtless feel to the *British* Government, should they resolve upon furnishing him with the means of protecting his people.

The urge for freedom manifested itself in one way or the other. The press in *India* wrote about *Kashmir* and its administration. It was complained that "there is want of grip in the administration, absence of touch with the people and the negation of love and attachment on their part to the Government. The plight of the people having gone from bad to worse, prayers were made that "His Majesty, by his royal Grace may be pleased to extend to the people of *Kashmir* the new light of equality and self determinations." Ultimately the *Muslims* of *Kashmir* submitted their memorial of grievances before Lord Reading, Viceroy of *India* in 1924 and also rose against *Maharaja Hari Singh* in 1931 but he had full moral support of the *British*.

Oppressions and atrocities confirmed to be the fate of *Kashmiris* during the rule of the first 3 *Dogra* *Maharajas*. At the beginning of the reign of the fourth *Maharaja*, *Albion Bannerji* wrote as under :-

"In fact, there is absolute majority of the *Muslim* populations in the *Jammu* and *Kashmir* State, but they are so much down-trodden, illiterate, innocent and grief-stricken that it is very difficult to explain. Poverty has spread all around and not only the Government is careless but its atrocities are beyond toleration. Seeing their wretched condition, tears would come to my eyes.

“ There is no link of love between the subjects and the Governments and they are just like dumb driven cattle. Any official can use them in any way he likes, and there is no one to take to task that official. I cannot explain in full to which extent the Administrative machinery of the Government is so much defective and bad it is very very essential that the administrative set up is rebuilt again and all its defects are removed. The people have no suitable opportunity to represent their grievances and make complaints before the high officers. The Government itself is so apathetic towards them and it seems to gets no benefit out of them.

“ Educated class, totally comprises of the *Kashmiri Pandits* and their condition can be considered also no better. As such, they should also be termed in a sense as down-trodden like the *Muslims*. They can not take any part in trade and crafts due to religious and social taboos and as such their condition is also bad. They are not given any preference in services because outsiders are fully patronised by the Govt.” There is no public opinion in the State. The reason for this is in the non-existence of any newspaper, which shows that *Kashmir* is in the pre-historic age of ignorance and barbarity. As such, the policy of the Government has not to face any sort of criticism. As such, certain acts of the people do not become public and even if it becomes known, till then it would have caused untold damage, and then there is no one to raise objection. They are devoid of this advantage of modern times.

The political importance of *Kashmir* is due to its natural and geographical situation, because the nature has created it between three big empires and it is evident THAT THIS FACT CAN GIVE HER SOME POLITICAL IMPORTANCE. But that *State* can not attain a high

position, nor understand its responsibilities, untill there is no link of love, and bondage of affection and toleration between it and the people.

The artisan of *Kashmir*, who had attained would fame due to their hard work, are not now patronised. As such, their economic condition has deteriorated to such an extent, which cannot be explained. The government does not patronise these artisans nor provides them with any aid. As such, their condition is becoming worse day by day.¹

We *Kashmiris* have forgotten the word as well as meaning of the word-Freedom due to our long span of four hundred years of slavery. Our many generations have been bred and brought up in slavery with the result that we prefer to remain slaves and think that slavery is our birth right. just as when anyone continues to wear rags or a mad man chains, he thinks such chains to be hos ornaments. In the same way, the *Kashmiris* were content with slavery but the wind of the times has changed its side and now nothing can hinder its course.

Kashmiris have survived by keeping faith of fate, but fate being unkind has kept their fate in the hands of others. Now the *Kashmiris* want only this thing that they be allowed to shape their land. It will not stop through the efforts of anyone, he may wish or not. After the end night, there is always a new morning and then sunset.

THE TREATY OF *AMRITSAR*

TREATY BETWEEN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT on the one part and MAHARAJA GULAB SINGH OF *JAMMU* on the other, concluded on the part of the BRITISH GOVERNMENT by FREDRICK DURRIE, Esquire and BREVET-MAJOR HENRY MONTGOMERY LAWRENCE, acting under the orders of the RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR HENRY HARDINGE, G.C.B., one of HER BRITANNING MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL, GOVERNOR-GENERAL, appointed by the HONOURABLE COMPANY to direct and control all their affairs in the EAST-INDIES, and by MAHARAJA GULAB SINGH in person, 1846.

Article 1.

The *British* Government transfers and make over for ever, in independent possession *Maharaja Gulab Singh* and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependancies, situated to the eastward of the river *Indus* and westward of the river Rabi, including Chams, and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the *British* Government by the *Lahore* State, according to the provisions of Article IV of the Treaty of *Lahore* dated 9th March 1846.

Article 2.

The eastern bondry of the tract transfered by the foregoing Article to *Maharaja Gulab Singh* shall be laid down by the Commissioners appointed by the *British* Govt. and *Maharaja Gulab Singh* respectively for that

purpose, and shall be defined in a separate Engagement after survey.

Article 3.

In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing Articles, *Maharaja Gulab Singh* will pay to the *British* Government the sum of seventy-five lakhs of Rupees (Nanukshahee), fifty lakhs to be paid on ratification of this Treaty, and twenty-five lakhs on or before the first October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

Article 4.

The limits of the territories of *Maharaja Gulab Singh* shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the *British* Government.

Article 5.

Maharaja Gulab Singh will refer to the arbitration of the *British* Government any disputes or question that may arise with any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the *British* Government.

Article 6.

Maharaja Gulab Singh engages for himself and heirs to join, with the whole of his Military Force, the *British* troops, when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

Article 7.

Maharaja Gulab Singh engages never to take or retain in his service, any *British* subject of any *European* or *American* State, without the consent of the *British* Government.

Article 8.

Maharaja Gulab Singh engages to respect, in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of Articles V, VI and VII of the separate Engagement between the *British* Government and *Lahore Darbar*, dated March 11th, 1846.

Article 9.

The *British* Government will give its aid to *Maharaja Gulab Singh* in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article 10.

Maharaja Gulab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the *British* Government, and will in token of such supremacy present annually to the *British* Government one horse, twelve *shawl* goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pairs of *Kashmiri shawls*.

This Treaty, of ten articles, has been this day settled by *Frederick Currie*, Esquire, and *Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence*, acting under the directions

of the Right Honourable *Sir Henry Hardinge*, G.C.B. Governor-General, on the part of the *British* Government, and by *Maharaja Gulab Singh* in person; and the said Treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable *Sir Henry Hardinge*, G.C.B. Governor-General.

Done *Amritsar*, the sixteenth day of March in the year of our *Lord* One thousand eight hundred and forty-six, corresponding with the seventeenth day of Rubee-ul-awal 1262 Hijree.

Sd/-F.Currie

Sd/-H.Hardinge (Seal)

Sd/-H.M.Lawrence.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of *India*

Sd/-F.Currie, Secretary to the Government of *India*, with the Governor-General.

APPNDIX 2

THE COMMERCIAL TREATY (1870)

TREATY between the BRITISH GOVERNMENT and HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA RANBEER SINGH, his heirs and successor, executed on the one part by THOMAS DOUGLAS FORSYTH, E.B., in virtue of the full power vested in him by HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE RICHARD SOUTHWELL BOURKE, BARON NAAS OF NASS, K.P. G.M.S.I., P.C.etc. VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF *INDIA*, and on the other part by HIS

HIGHNESS MAHARAJA RANBEER SINGH aforesaid, in person, 1870.

Whereas, in the interest of the high contracting parties and their respective subjects, it is deemed desirable to afford greater facilities than at present exist for the development and security of trade with Eastern Turkistan, the following Articles have, with this object, been agreed upon :

Article 1.

With the consent of the *Maharaja*, officers of the *British* Government will be appointed to survey the trade routes through the *Maharaja's* territories from the *British* frontier of *Lahoul* to the territories of the Ruler of Yarkand, including the route via the *Chang Chemo Valley*. The *Maharaja* will depute an officer of his Government to accompany the Surveyors, and will be made, an attested copy of which will be given to *Maharaja*.

Article 2.

Whichever route towards the Chang Chemo Valley shall after examination and survey as above, be declared by the *British* Government to be the best suited for the development of trade with Eastern Turkistan, shall be declared by the *Maharaja* to be a free highway in perpetually and at all times for all travellers and traders.

Article 3.

For the supervision and maintenance of the road in its entire length through the *Maharaja's* territories the regulation of traffic on the free highway described in Article 2, the enforcement of regulations that may be hereafter agreed upon, and the settlement of disputes between carriers, traders, travellers, or others using that road, in which either of the parties or both of them are subjects of the *British* Government or of any foreign State, two Commissioners shall be annually appointed, one by the *British* Government, and other by the *Maharaja*. In the discharge of their duties and as regards the period of their residence the Commissioners shall be guided by such rules as are now separately framed and may, from time, hereafter be laid down by the joint authority of the *British* Government and the *Maharaja*.

Article 4.

The jurisdiction of the Commissioners shall be defined by a line on each side of the road at a maximum width of two Statute fathoms, except where it may be deemed by the commissioners necessary to include a wider extent for grazing grounds. Within this maximum width the Surveyors appointed under Article, I shall demarcate and map the limits of jurisdiction which may be decided on by the Commissioners as most suitable, including grazing grounds; and the jurisdiction of the Commissioners shall not extend beyond the limits so demarcated. The land included within these limits shall remain in the *Maharaja's* independent possession; and subject to the stipulations contained in this Treaty, the *Maharaja* shall continue to possess the same right of full sovereignty therein as in any

other part of his territories, which right shall not be interfered with in any way by the joint Commissioners.

Article 5.

The *Maharaja* agrees to give all possible assistance in enforcing the decisions of the Commissioners and in preventing the breach or evasion of the regulations established under Article 3.

Article 6.

The *Maharaja* agrees that any person, whether a subject of the *British* Government, or of the *Maharaja*, or of the Ruler of *Yarkand*, or of any foreign State, may settle at any place within the jurisdiction of the two commissioners, and may provide keep, maintain, and let for hire at different stages the means of carriage and transport for the purpose of trade.

Article 7.

The two Commissioners shall be empowered to establish supply depots and to authorize other persons to establish supply depots at such places on the road as may appear to them suitable to fix the rates at which provisions shall be sold to traders, carriers, settlers and other; to fix the rent to be charged for the use of any rest-houses or serais that may be established on the road. The officers of the *British* Government in Kullu, etc, and the officers of the *Maharaja* in *Ladakh* shall be instructed to use their best endeavours to supply provisions on the indent of Commissioners at market rates.

Article 8.

The *Maharaja* agrees to levy no transit duty whatever on the aforesaid free highway; and the *Maharaja* further agrees to abolish all transit duties levied within his territories on goods transmitted in bond through His Highness territories bulk may not be broken within the territories of His Highness. On goods imported into, or exported from, His Highness territory, whether by the aforesaid free highway or any other route, the *Maharaja* may levy such import or export duties as he may think fit.

Article 9.

The *British* Government agree to levy no duty on goods, transmitted in bond through *British India* to Eastern Turkistan or to the territories of His Highness the *Maharaja*. Then *British* Government further agree to abolish the export duties now levied on *shawl* and other textile fabrics manufactured in the territories of the *Maharaja*, and exported to countries beyond the limits of *British India*.

Article 10.

This Treaty, consisting of 10 Articles, has this day been concluded by *Thomas Douglas Forsyth, C.B.*, in virtue of the full powers vested in him by His Excellency the Right Honourable *Richard Southwell Bourke*, Earl of Mayo, Viscount Mayo of Monyrower, Baron of Naas, K.P.G.S.I.P.C., etc., Viceroy and Governor General of *India* on the part of the *British* Government, and by

Maharaja Ranbir Singh aforesaid and it is agreed that a copy of this Treaty, duly ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of *India*, shall be delivered to the *Maharaja* on or before the 7th September 1870.

Signed, sealed, and exchanged at *Sealkote* on the second day of April in the year of our *Lord* one thousand eight hundred and seventy, corresponding with the 22nd day of Bysack, Sumbut 1927.

SIGNATURE OF MAHARAJA OF CASHMERE

Sd/-

T.D.FORSYTH,

Sd/-

MAYO

This treaty was ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of *India* at *Sealkote* on the 2nd day of May 1870.

Sd/-

C.U. AITCHISGN

*(Officiating Secretary to the Government
of India, Foreign Department)*

APPENDIX 3

Rules for the Guidance of officers and other Travellers visiting Dominions of His Highness *Ranbir Singh*, the *Maharaja* of *Jammu* and *Kashmir*.

1. There are four authorised routes of *European* visitors to *Kashmir* (all of which are noticed in

this work). The special permission of the *Punjab* Government must be obtained by travellers proposing to proceed from Simla to *Kashmir* across the hills. All other roads from *Jammu* (the Bunnihai route), the prohibition has been ordered by the Supreme Government at the special request of His Highness the *Maharaja*. The road branching from *Rajouri*, by Aknoor, which is used by the *Maharaja's* family and troops, is also expressly prohibited.

2. Every officer or traveller about to visit *Kashmir* should engage before proceeding a sufficient number of ponies or mules for the conveyance of his baggage.

3. Carriage and Coolies employed in carrying baggage, or for other purposes, are to be settled with daily, as in our own provinces, and their loads should not exceed twenty-five seers. Tatoes, or mules, should not carry more than two maunds in hills.

4. It is necessary to bear in mind that coolies and carriages are not available on the spot, but they have usually to be collected from distant villages. Travellers on reaching a stage should therefore send forward to the next a notice of their requisitions, and must not expect to be supplied at a moment's warning. This intimation is especially necessary in the case of officers hurrying back to save their leave, and sometimes making double stages. In this case double hire must invariably be paid.

5. In returning from *Kashmir*, coolies or carriages should not be taken on beyond the *Maharaja's* frontier, as it causes much inconvenience to other travellers.

6. Encamping-Places and Supplies.— Officers should encamp at the fixed stage and encamping grounds, otherwise supplies may not be forthcoming. They

should avoid entering or pitching inside villages, where quarrels may occur between their servants and the public of the country.

7. All arrangements for supplies, coolies, of baggage animals, and all references to the local authorities, should be made through the proper attendants; but payment for supplies, coolies, and carriage should be made by travellers themselves in their presence.

8. No interference is to be offered to *Kardars* (revenue officers), *Thanedars*, or *Kotwals* (police Officers) or other servants of subjects of His Highness the *Maharaja*; and no calls are to be made on them except in real emergencies. All payments are to be made at the rates demanded, which if exorbitant, can be afterwards reported to the officer on duty at *Srinagar*.

9. A book will be presented at each stage, in which every traveller is required to write legibly his name, rank, station, and the date his arrival.

10. Shooting Excursion :- When going on shooting excursions visitors are to take carriage & supplies with them, and not to persist in demanding them at places where they are not procurable. They are not to press into their service the people of the country as beaters for game.

11. Rererence in Cases of Difficulties or Disputes in any case of dispute officers should avoid putting themselves in direct collision with the authorities, soldiers, servants, or subjects of the *Maharaja*. They are also warned not to place entire confidence in the statements of their servants, who often their objects to serve.

12. Should they have reason to consider that they or their followers have been ill-treated or affronted, they are strictly prohibited from taking the law into their own hands, or punishing the offending arties; but they are

to make known their complaint to the authorities on the spot, and immediately to report the matter to the officer on deputation at *Srinagar*.

13. All such cases which may occur at the capital are to be preferred at once to the officer on deputation, who is their for the purpose of maintaining order. Officers are not themselves to repair to the durbar of the *Maharaja*, or the courts of his delegates, or to communicate directly with them.

14. observance of Local Laws and Customs
Officers are enjoined to remember that they are visitors in the remote dominions of an independent sovereign, where they one and all represent the character of their country. If on any occasion they or their servants be brought in colntract with the *Maharaja's* relatives, or any of his agents, they must treat them with respect and courtesy, and be guided by and conform to the local laws and usages.

15. Officers are not allowed to take away with them, either in their service or with camps, any subjects of the *Maharaja* without obtaining permission and a passport from the authorities.

16. They are strictly required to settle all accounts before they quit *Kashmir* and to be responsible that the debts of their servants are similarly discharged.

17. All present to be refused :- Presents of every description must be rigidly refused. To take any 'russud' or supplies without payment is positively prohibited except on the first or last days of a visitor's say at *Kashmir*, when it may happen that 'ressud' is sent expressly by the *Maharaja*.

18. Instances having been brought to notice of *European* visitors to *Kashmir* having permitted the goods of native merchants to be mixed up with their own,

with the object of evading the custom's duties levialble there upon by the *Kashmir* Government, it is hereby pointed out that such conduct will involve legal penalties, and in the case of person in the civil or military services of the Queen will be reported to the Supreme Government.

19. The *Maharaja* occasionally invites *European* visitors to entertainments, in which, if the invitation be accepted; they should appear in uniform or evening costume.

20. It will be the duty of the officer on special duty to report to the *Punjab* Government any officer or traveller infringing any of these rules.

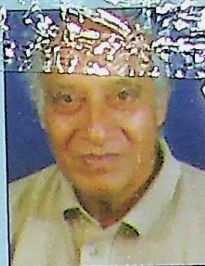
21. Should any officer be guilty of any aggravated breach of decorum or propriety, or of violating the local laws and usages of the country, or other grave misconduct, the civil officer on special duty at *Srinagar* is empowered to call upon such officer to quit forthwith the territories of the *Maharaja*. Such requisition on the part of the civil officer must be promptly complied with. An appeal from the order of expulsion will lie, in the case of a first offence, to a court of three experienced officers, whom the civil officer is empowered to summon for hearing such appeals, and the decision of these officers will be final. In the case of a second offence, there will be no appeal against the order of civil officer.

T.H. Thornton,

Secretary to Government, *Punjab*.



ABOUT THE AUTHOR



He was born in the village of Baramulla in the district of Baramulla in January 1921. Having graduated from the University of Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan, he completed his post graduate studies in

History and Law from the Muslim University, Aligarh, India. Since then, he has received several degrees and awards from various universities and institutions of India, Japan, Switzerland, Germany and Mexico.

He began his service career as a Professor in 1948 and retired as the Director of Archives, Archaeology, Research and Museums, Jammu & Kashmir State, in 1980. He is an author of about two dozen books on history, culture and mysticism. He is the first Kashmiri writer whose books have been published in Poland, Spain, Italy and the United Kingdom. In 1960, he came into contact with a Buddhist Shaman of Tibet, Sufi. He was initiated into Sufism by Hazrat Hayat Boumann, a pious lady mystic belonging to the Sufi Order established by Pir-o-Murshid Hazrat Inayat Khan of Delhi.

He completed various Chillas and Sufi practices under the guidance of Murshid Abubabaji of Oatacumund, India. He was further groomed by Hazrat Sheikh Muzaffar Ozak Al Jerrahi of Istanbul, Turkey. Sufi Master Professor Hassnain is associated with the Occult Foundation of India, Calcutta, OISCA -International, Tokyo, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, New Delhi, Swami Gitananda Yoga Center, Pondicherry, the World Congress of Faiths, London and Hazrat Inayat Khan Sufi Centre, New Delhi. He has visited several countries of Asia and Europe including, Bulgaria, Russia, Germany, Australia, Japan, England, Scotland and Malaysia. He is a spiritual healer and conducts Sufi Therapy workshops in several Dynamic Psychiatric Hospitals in Germany. He lives at Dastgir Villa, Parray Pora, Sanat Nagar, Srinagar, Kashmir, India.

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